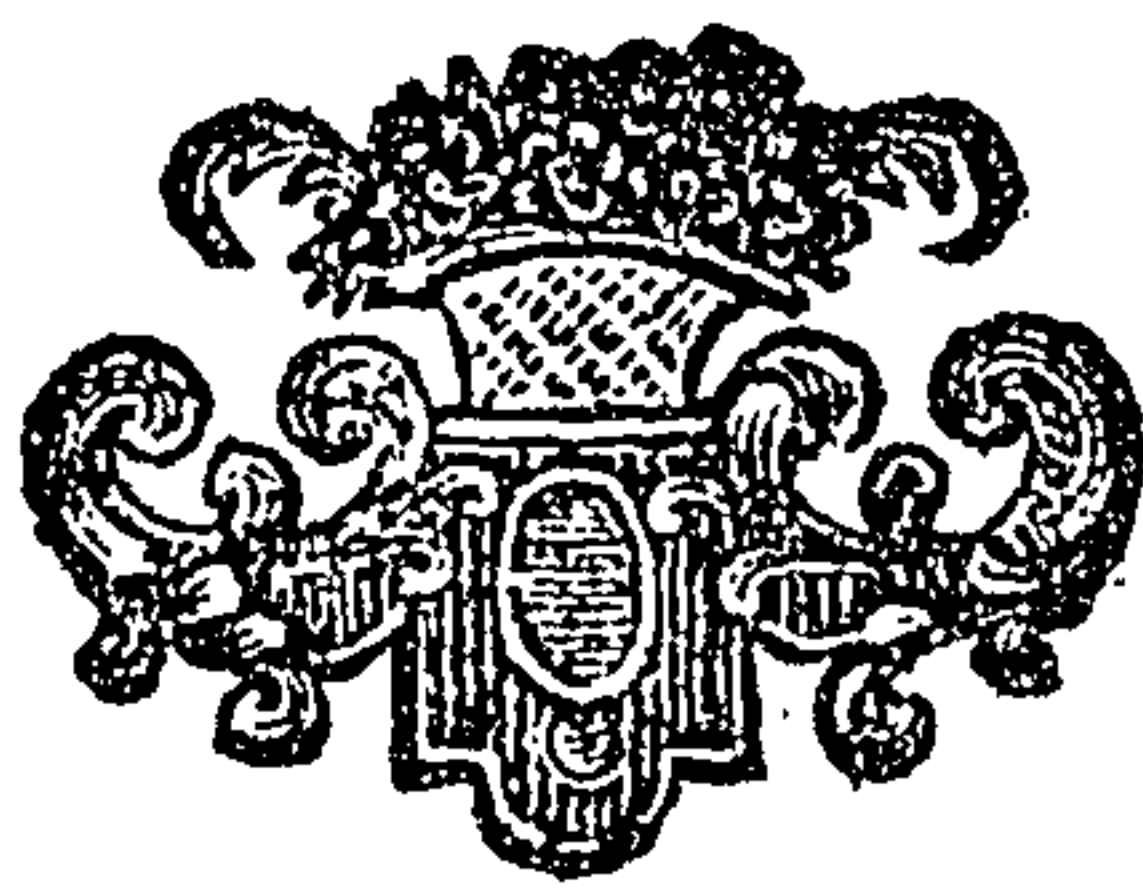


THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
BY  
TITUS LIVIUS;  
WITH THE  
SUPPLEMENT  
OF

JOHN FREINSHEIM;

Translated into ENGLISH, and illustrated with  
geographical and chronological Notes.

VOL. IV.



LONDON:

Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM,

And sold by J. CLARKE, under the *Royal Exchange*;  
G. HAWKINS, between the *Temple Gates*; J. DAVIDSON;  
in the *Poultry*; J. ROWLAND, in *Exeter Change*;  
W. PAYNE, in the *Strand*; J. FLETCHER, at *Oxford*;  
Mr. MERRIL, at *Cambridge*; and W. MILLAR, at  
*Edinburgh*. M.DCC.XLV.

## ERRATA.

- Page 54. lin. 18. your *read* their.  
p. 69. l. 24. *add* the.  
p. 141. l. 20. Cornelius *r.* Servilius.  
p. 197. l. 34. fight *read* conquer.  
p. 293. l. 10. L. *read* C.  
p. 289. l. 29. *read*. Macatus.







THE

## ROMAN HISTORY

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

## DECAD III. BOOK XXI.

*This book contains the commencement of the second Punic war in Italy; Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, his passing the river Iberus contrary to treaty, and taking Saguntum, a city in alliance with the Romans, after he had lain eight months before it. Embassadors sent to the Carthaginians to complain of these violations of the peace, and war declared against them upon their refusing to make satisfaction. Hannibal passes the Pyrenees, defeats the Volcæ, who attempt to obstruct his march through Gaul, and arrives at the Alps. Having with incredible fatigue passed these mountains, and in several battles defeated the Gauls who inhabited them, and opposed his passage, he comes down into Italy, and in an action between the cavalry vanquishes the Romans at the river Ticin. P. Cornelius Scipio, wounded in this battle, is saved by his son, afterwards surnamed Africanus. Hannibal defeats another Roman army at the river Trebia, and passes the Apennines, where his troops were exceedingly harassed by a violent storm. Cn. Cornelius Scipio fights successfully in Spain against the Carthaginians, and takes Mago, their general, prisoner.*

I MAY with justice be allowed to introduce this part of my story, with what the generality of historians profess in the very beginning of their works, that I am going to relate the most memorable war that ever was carried on; I mean, that which the Carthaginians, under the command of Hannibal, sustained against the Romans. For never did more potent states war with each other,

CHAP.  
I.

**CHAP.** <sup>I.</sup> neither did those engaged ever enjoy a higher degree of strength and force: besides, they were sensible of each other's military skill and abilities, having had sufficient proofs of them in the first Punic war: nay, the fortune of their arms was so various, and victory so long in declaring itself, that the side which conquered, was in the greatest danger of being destroyed. However great the forces of the two contending states were, their mutual resentment was still greater; the Romans being exasperated to see a conquered people without provocation renew hostilities against their conquerors, while the Carthaginians looked upon the tyranny and avarice of their vanquishers as quite insupportable. There is likewise a tradition, that as Hamilcar, after having happily terminated the war in Africa<sup>a</sup>, being about to transport his troops into Spain, was offering sacrifice for success in that expedition, he led his son Hannibal, then nine years of age, and fondly entreating him, with the caresses usual with children, to take him along with him, up to the altar, and made him swear, with his hand on the victims, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans, as soon as he had it in his power. His great spirit could not brook the loss of Sicily<sup>b</sup> and Sardinia<sup>c</sup>; for he thought the former had been too hastily given up through an ill founded despair of being able to keep it, and was enraged that the Romans, taking advantage of the commotions in Afric, had treacherously seized the latter, and likewise imposed a new tribute<sup>d</sup> upon Carthage.

**CHAP.** <sup>II.</sup> **DISTRACTED** with these cares, he behaved himself in such a manner during the war in Africa, which lasted five years after the conclusion of the late treaty with the Romans, and in Spain, where for nine years he extended the Carthaginian domination, that it plainly appeared, he was meditating a more considerable war than that he was car-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. III. 397. a

<sup>b</sup> See Vol. III. p. 281, 414.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 317, 426—435.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 428.





**SPAIN**  
and  
**PORTUGAL.**  
According to the Newest Observations.  
By H. Moll, Geographer.



rying on. And had he lived longer, the Carthaginians had carried those arms into Italy under the conduct of Hamilcar, which they did under that of Hannibal. This invasion was only deferred by the seasonable death of the former, and the nonage of the latter. During the interval between the death of that general, and the mature age of his son, which was about eight years, Asdrubal obtained the administration of the affairs. This man, it is reported, at first became Hamilcar's favorite, on account of his youth and handsomness, and when he grew older was preferred to be his son in law for his great genius. As he had married this general's daughter, he, against the inclination of the principal men in the state, made himself master of the government, by the interest of the Barcinian faction<sup>a</sup>, which had an extraordinary credit, both in the army, and amongst the people. He managed affairs more by policy than by open force, and by his kind usage of the petty princes, and gaining over strange nations by contracting friendships with their chiefs, aggrandized the Carthaginian state more than he could have done by war and arms. But the peace he enjoyed could not protect his life. For a certain ruffian, to revenge Asdrubal's having put his master to death, killed him at one blow, and being apprehended by the by-standers, looked as unconcerned as if he had made his escape; nay, when he was racked, his joy for the revenge so overbalanced his pain, that his countenance seemed to carry a smile upon it. With this Asdrubal, who was so dextrous in gaining the neighboring states, and in uniting them to his interest, the Romans had renewed the former treaty, on condition, "that  
 " the river Iber<sup>b</sup> should be the boundary of the  
 " two empires, and that the Saguntines<sup>c</sup>, whose  
 " city lay between them, should remain free."

A GENERAL being now to be chosen in CHAP.

<sup>a</sup> It had this name from Barcas, Hamilcar's surname.

<sup>b</sup> See Vol. III. p. 447. n. b.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. c.



CHAP. room of Asdrubal, there was no doubt but the com-  
 III. mons would follow the precedent of the army, which  
 had immediately carried Hannibal to the head quar-  
 ters, and declared him general with great acclama-  
 tions and unanimity. While he was yet a boy, Af-  
 drubal had wrote for him. The affair was even de-  
 bated in senate, where the Barcinian faction strenu-  
 ously urged the necessity of inuring Hannibal to  
 arms, and that he should succeed to his father's  
 commands. Hanno, the head of the opposite fac-  
 tion, said, "Asdrubal's demand seems just; and  
 "yet I am of opinion, it ought not to be granted."  
 This puzzling speech surprized the assembly, and  
 drew their attention, while he continued: "Af-  
 "drubal thinks he has a right to make reprizals  
 "on the son, for that beauty which he himself  
 "prostituted to the father: but it would ill be-  
 "come us to prostitute our youth to the lust of ge-  
 "nerals, instead of instructing them in the military  
 "art. Are we afraid, that a son of Hamilcar  
 "should arrive too late at his father's extraordinary  
 "power, which was almost absolute tyranny? Are  
 "we afraid, that we shall not soon enough be the  
 "slaves of a son of him, who left the command of  
 "our armies to his son in law, as if it had been an  
 "hereditary office? My advice is, that this youth  
 "should be kept at home under due subjection to  
 "the laws and magistrates, that he may learn to  
 "live on an equal footing with the rest of our citi-  
 "zens; lest this small spark should some day kin-  
 "dle a great conflagration."

CHAP. A FEW, and those the wisest and best of the  
 IV. senate, approved of Hanno's advice; but, as com-  
 monly happens, the majority carried the point a-  
 gainst the abettors of this salutary resolution. Han-  
 nibal, being in consequence sent into Spain, even  
 on his arrival there, attracted the eyes of the whole  
 army. The veterans believed Hamilcar was reviv-  
 ed and restored to them. They saw the same vi-  
 gorous countenance, the same piercing eye, the same  
 com-



Book xxi. by TITUS LIVIUS.

complexion and features. But in a short time his behavior occasioned this resemblance of his father to contribute the least towards his gaining their favor. And, in truth, never was there a genius more happily formed for two things, most manifestly contrary to each other, TO OBEY AND COMMAND. This made it difficult to determine, whether the general or soldiers loved him most. Where any enterprize required vigor and valor in the performance, Asdrubal always chose him to command at the executing it; nor were the troops ever more confident of success, or more intrepid, than when he was at their head. None ever shewed greater bravery in undertaking hazardous attempts, or more presence of mind and conduct in the execution of them. No hardship could fatigue his body, or daunt his courage. He could equally bear cold and heat. The necessary refecton of nature, not the pleasure of his palate, he solely regarded in his meals. He made no distinction of day and night, in his watching, or taking rest; and appropriated no time to sleep, but what remained after he had completed his duty. He neither sought for a soft or retired place of repose; but was often seen lying on the bare ground, wrapt in a soldier's cloak, amongst the sentinels and guards. He did not distinguish himself from his companions by the magnificence of his dress, but by the quality of his horse and arms. At the same time he was by far the best foot and horse soldier in the army; ever the foremost in a charge, and the last who left the field after the battle was begun. These shining qualities were however balanced by great vices; inhuman cruelty, more than Carthaginian treachery, no respect for truth or honor, no fear of the gods, no regard for the sanctity of oaths, no sense of religion. With a disposition thus chequered with virtues and vices, he served three years under Asdrubal, without neglecting to pry into, or perform every thing, that could contribute to make him hereafter a complete general.

§  
CHAP.  
IV.



CHAP.

V.



BUT from the day that he was declared commander in chief, as if Italy had been decreed to be his province, and he had had a commission to make war on the Romans, he thought he ought not to lose time, lest while he dallied he should be taken off by some unlucky accident, which had been the fate of his father, and of Asdrubal: therefore he resolved to attack the Saguntines. But seeing that hereby he would certainly rouse the Roman arms, he first marched his army into the territories of the Olcades<sup>a</sup>, a nation beyond the Ebro, which rather sided with, than was subject to the Carthaginians. By this he imagined it would seem, that his principal aim in this war was not to attack the Saguntines, but that by consequence of events, and having reduced and annexed the neighboring nations, he had been insensibly led to it. He took by storm and demolished Carteia<sup>b</sup>, a wealthy city, and the capital of that province. This struck so great terror into the less considerable towns, that they submitted, and had a tribute imposed on them. Then he marched his triumphant army, enriched with spoil, into winter quarters at New Carthage<sup>c</sup>. There having firmly conciliated to himself the affections of both citizens and allies, by giving them a large share of the plunder, and faithfully paying them their arrears, in the beginning of the spring he carried his arms against the Vaccæi<sup>d</sup>. He took Hermandica<sup>e</sup> and Arbacula<sup>f</sup> by assault. The latter, through the bravery and number of her inhabitants, made a long defence. Those who escaped from Hermandica, having joined the scattered remains of the Olcades, whom the Carthaginian had subdued the year before, stirred up the Carpetani<sup>g</sup>, and fall-

<sup>a</sup> The situation of their country not determined by geographers, but probably it bordered on *Cadix*.

<sup>b</sup> Now *Tariffa*, in *Andalusia*.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. III. p. 427. a.

<sup>d</sup> Living on the borders of *Galia*, and possessing a district now part of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*, on both sides of the *Duro*.

<sup>e</sup> Unknown.

<sup>f</sup> *Sanfon* conjectures it to be the same city which is now called *Avila*. Others *Arevalo* in old *Castile*.

<sup>g</sup> *Toledo* was the capital of their country, which comprehended the canton of *La Mancha*. It lies in the center of *Spain*, on both sides of the *Tagus*.





ing upon him, in his march back from Vaccæi, not far from the Tagus<sup>h</sup>, harassed his troops, who were loaded with plunder. The Carthaginian declined coming to a battle, and encamping on the banks of the river, as soon as the enemy were hushed and gone to sleep, forded it. Then he encamped in such a manner as to leave the enemy room to come over, but resolved to attack them in their passage. He ordered his cavalry to charge them, as soon as they entered the water. His infantry he posted on the bank with 40 elephants in their front. The Carpetani, with the addition of the Olcades and Vaccæi, were 100000 in number; an invincible army, had they been to engage on fair ground. But being naturally fierce, relying on their numbers, and believing the enemy had retreated through fear, they imagined the river's being between was the sole obstacle to their victory. Wherefore setting up a shout, they rushed into it without any particular leader, each from the ground where he stood. A great body of horse entered it from the other side, and they came to an engagement in the middle of the stream, but on very unequal terms. For the allies infantry, not having sure footing, or trusting to the ford, could easily be overthrown, even by unarmed cavalry, if they but drove their horses against them at random; whereas the Carthaginian horse, having the free use of their bodies and arms, and their horses sure footing even in the middle of the stream, might do execution both at hand and at a distance. Great numbers were drowned, and some, who were driven by the violence of the current to the other side, were trampled to death by the elephants. But their rear, whose safest course was to return to their own side, as they were endeavoring to rally in this general confusion, were put to flight, before they could recover from their con-

<sup>h</sup> It rises at mount *Sierra de Albarazin*, near the borders of *Aragon* and *Old Castille*, runs by *Toledo* to *Esframadura*, crosses part of *Por-*

*tugal*, forms the port of *Lisbon*, and falls into the *Atlantic* ocean, two leagues below that city.



CHAP. V.  sternation, by Hannibal, who entered the river with his troops formed in a square battalion. After having laid their country waste, the Carpetani within a few days submitted to him. Now all the nations beyond the Ebro, except the Saguntines, were subjected to the Carthaginians.

CHAP. VI.  HE had not yet attacked the Saguntines; but quarrels were excited between them and the neighboring states, especially with the Turdetani<sup>a</sup>, to furnish him with a pretext to do it. When he, who had himself sown the seeds of these differences, came to assist the latter, and it was evident that he had no intention to do justice, but forcibly to impose terms, the Saguntines dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to solicit aid in the war which was certainly ready to fall on them. At that time, P. Cornel. Scipio, and Ti. Sempronius Longus, were consuls at Rome. They, having introduced the ambassadors into the senate-house, and laid the state of the republic before the assembly, it was resolved, “to send ambassadors into  
 “Spain, to enquire into the situation of their allies  
 “affairs; and if they found sufficient cause, ex-  
 “pressly to require Hannibal to refrain all acts of  
 “hostility against the Saguntines, who were allies  
 “of the Romans: from thence to procede to Car-  
 “thage, and there present a memorial, containing  
 “the complaints of their friends.” But before this embassy, which had been concluded on, could be dispatched, news arrived, that Saguntum was actually invested, much sooner than ever could have been expected. Upon this the affair was again taken under consideration by the senate. Some were of opinion, that Spain and Africa should be the provinces assigned to the consuls, and that they ought to act vigorously both by sea and land: others were, for acting with their whole force against Hannibal in Spain: but some advised, not rashly to undertake an affair of such vast consequence, and to wait the return of the ambassadors from Spain.

P. Cornel.  
 Scipio, Ti.  
 Semp. Lon-  
 gus, consuls.  
 Y. of R. 534.  
 E. J. C. 218.

<sup>a</sup> In the middle of Portugal.



This opinion, which seemed to be the most salutary, was agreed to, and the ambassadors, P. Valerius Flaccus, and Q. Bæbius Tamphilus, were the sooner dispatched to Hannibal at Saguntum, from whence, in case he did not cease hostilities, they were to procede to Carthage, to demand that the general himself should be delivered up to be punished for his violation of the treaty.

CHAP.  
VI.

WHILE the Romans were deliberating and making preparations for an embassy in this manner, the Carthaginian pressed the siege of Saguntum with the utmost vigor. This city was by much the richest of all beyond the Ebro, and was situate about a mile from the sea. It's inhabitants are said to have come originally from Zacynthus<sup>a</sup>, and to have been mixed with some people of Ardea, a city of the Rutuli<sup>b</sup>. But in a short time they acquired immense riches by the advantages they procured both by sea and land, by the vast increase of their inhabitants, by their exact discipline, and firm attachment to the principles of honesty, which made them maintain their fidelity to their allies, even to their own utter destruction. The Carthaginian having entered their territories with fire and sword, and ruined all their lands, attacked the city in three places at once. One angle of the wall ran out into a plain of larger extent, and more level, than any other ground round the place. Against this he determined to erect his galleries<sup>c</sup>, in order to be able under their cover to approach it with his battering rams. At a distance from the wall the place was indeed very proper and safe for playing these machines; but when they came to be applied, they had not a successful effect. A great tower overtopped them, and the wall itself, as being most exposed on that side, was there built higher, and better fortified than the rest. Besides, as that was the most dangerous and fatiguing post, a chosen body of their

CHAP.  
VII.

<sup>a</sup> An island in the-Ionian sea.  
<sup>b</sup> Vol. I. p. 7. a.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. II. p. 60. b.



CHAP. youth defended it with proportionable vigor. At  
 VII. first they repulsed the enemy with their missile weapons; nor did they suffer their pioneers to prosecute their work in safety any where. At last they not only discharged their darts from the walls and tower, but were bold enough to sally in order to drive them from their posts, and destroy their works. In these tumultuary skirmishes the loss of the Carthaginians was almost as great as that of the Saguntines. But when Hannibal, by approaching the wall with too little precaution, was wounded in the thigh by a javelin, and fell, his troops were so terrified, and fell back in such disorder, that they were very near entirely abandoning their works and galleries.

CHAP. THE siege was continued, but no assault made  
 VIII. for some days, during the cure of the general's wound: but notwithstanding the attacks were suspended, they were busily employed in preparing works and batteries. For this reason, their attacks were soon renewed with greater vigor, and on more quarters than before; even in places where their engines had scarcely room to be applied, they began to push on their galleries, and approach with their battering rams. The Carthaginian had sufficient numbers of men; for it is believed his army amounted to 150000. But the townsmen, by using every expedient to defend and be ready at all their posts, began to be hard put to it, not having men enough for every occasion. For by this time the walls were severely battered by the rams: they were likewise shattered in many places, but in one particularly so great a part of them fell all together, that the town lay quite open. Then three towers, with all the wall betwixt them, tumbled down with a great crash. This breach induced the Carthaginians to look on the place as good as taken; and both sides, as if the walls alone had kept them from each other before, ran to engage at it. This action had not the aspect of the tumultuous skirmishes, so

common during sieges, when the two parties meet in a sally; but of a formal battle, maintained by the two contending people, drawn up, as in the open field, in the small space between the breach of the wall and the houses. Hope animated one side, and despair the other. For the Carthaginians looked on the place as their own, with some few more efforts; and the Saguntines, opposing their bodies for the defence of their native city, now dismantled of its walls, did not flinch a step, for fear the enemy should occupy the ground they abandoned. Thus the closer and sharper the conflict was, the more were wounded; for every weapon did execution either on arms or bodies.

CHAP.

VIII.


The Saguntines used a weapon, which they lanced with their hand, called *falarica*. Its shaft was long and every where round, except towards the point where it was tipped with iron. Round this head, which was square like that of a javelin, they wrapt tow dipped in pitch. The iron was three feet long, and capable of piercing both arms and bodies. But if it happened to stick in the shield without penetrating the body, it occasioned in an especial manner great terror; because being discharged with the middle of it on fire, and acquiring a much fiercer flame by the motion, it obliged him whom it struck to drop his arms, and remain exposed to succeeding volleys.


THUS victory continuing long in suspense, the Saguntines, by a resistance even beyond expectation, gained fresh courage, and the Carthaginian, because he had not got the victory, looked on himself as vanquished. In consequence the former, all of a sudden setting up a shout, drove the enemy into the breach; then seeing them there intangled, and in great consternation, they repulsed them from it, and at length putting them to the rout, obliged them to fly to their camp. Immediately accounts came, that the Roman ambassadors were just upon the point of arriving. Upon this Hannibal

CHAP.

IX.



CHAP. IX.  nibal dispatched persons to meet them at the sea-side, and to tell them, “ that it would not be safe for  
 “ them to come to him amidst so many barbarous  
 “ nations in arms ; and for his own part, the dan-  
 “ gerous situation of his affairs did not allow him  
 “ leisure to give audience to ambassadors.” He  
 saw clearly, that upon this refusal to admit them,  
 they would procede directly to Carthage. There-  
 fore he immediately dispatched couriers with letters  
 to the Barcinian faction to be upon their guard, to  
 prevent the opposite party’s complying with the de-  
 mands of the Romans.

CHAP. X.  BY this means their embassy proved as fruitless  
 and ineffectual at Carthage, in every respect, ex-  
 cepting being admitted to an audience. Hanno a-  
 lone, in opposition to the whole body of the senate,  
 spoke in defence of the treaty, and was heard with  
 great attention on account of his rank and authority,  
 rather than that the auditors approved of what he  
 said. His speech was to this effect. “ I for-  
 “ merly warned and conjured you by the gods,  
 “ who are the arbiters and witnesses of treaties, not  
 “ to send any of Hamilcar’s race to the army.  
 “ Neither the manes or progeny of that general  
 “ can remain in quiet, nor, whilst a single person  
 “ of the blood and name of Barcas survives, will  
 “ any treaty with the Romans be inviolably ob-  
 “ served. Notwithstanding my remonstrance, you  
 “ have added fuel to this fire, by sending to your  
 “ army a youth who burns with an ambition of so-  
 “ vereignty, and who sees the only means to at-  
 “ tain it, is to excite war upon the back of war,  
 “ to live continually girt with arms, and surround-  
 “ ed by legions. Thus you have nourished the  
 “ fire, that now preys upon you. Your troops  
 “ are now besieging Saguntum, contrary to express  
 “ treaties ; but the Roman legions will soon invest  
 “ Carthage, under the direction of these very gods,  
 “ who, in the former war, avenged our violation  
 “ of faith. Whether is it the enemy, yourselves,  
 “ or



“ or the fortune of the two nations, that you are  
 “ unacquainted with? Your good general, for-  
 “ sooth, would not admit into his camp the embas-  
 “ sadors of allies, who came in favor of allies, nay  
 “ violated the law of nations! Yet they, after re-  
 “ ceiving such a repulse, as is never given even to  
 “ enemies deputies, come to you to demand satis-  
 “ faction according to treaty. They suppose the  
 “ state had no share in this perfidy, and only de-  
 “ mand the really culpable person, the author of  
 “ the injury. The more moderately they procede,  
 “ the longer they are of beginning; but, I am a-  
 “ fraid, when they have once entered into hostili-  
 “ ties, they will wreak their vengeance on us with  
 “ a proportionably obstinate perseverance. Re-  
 “ member the islands *Ægates*<sup>a</sup>, remember *Eryx*<sup>b</sup>,  
 “ set before your eyes what you have suffered during  
 “ the space of twenty four years. This youth was not  
 “ then your general, but Hamilcar, his father, that  
 “ second Mars, as his partizans call him. Even then  
 “ we could not forbear, in violation of treaties, at-  
 “ tacking Tarentum in Italy<sup>c</sup>, as we now do Sagun-  
 “ tum. For this reason we were defeated by both  
 “ gods and men, and that which was disputed in  
 “ words at the beginning, which of the two nations  
 “ first violated the treaty, the event of the war as-  
 “ certained, and, like a just judge, gave victory  
 “ to them who had equity on their side. It is to  
 “ the walls of Carthage that Hannibal is approach-  
 “ ing with his galleries and mantlets; it is her  
 “ walls which he now batters with his rams. I wish  
 “ I may prove a false prophet, but I foresee, that  
 “ the ruins of Saguntum will tumble on our heads,  
 “ and that we must sustain against the Romans, the  
 “ war which we have undertaken against the Sa-  
 “ guntines. But, perhaps, some will say, shall we  
 “ then deliver up Hannibal? I am sensible, that  
 “ my declaring for this step will have very little

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 413, 414. a.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 215.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 223. b.



CHAP.

X.



weight with the senate, because of the enmity that subsisted between his father and me. But I confess I rejoiced at Hamilcar's death for this reason, that had he lived we had been at war with the Romans even at this time ; and as to this youth, I abhor and detest him as an incendiary, as the evil genius of the present war. I am of opinion, that he ought not only to be delivered up to expiate his violation of the treaty, but, though none should demand it, ought to be transported to the utmost extremities of the world, and banished to so remote a distance, as neither his name or fame might ever reach us, nor his presence disturb the tranquillity of our state. My advice therefore is, that you instantly dispatch one embassy to Rome, to give the senate satisfaction ; another to command Hannibal to withdraw his army from Saguntum, and then to deliver up himself to the Romans, according to treaty ; and a third to make reparation to the Saguntines for the damages they have sustained."

CHAP.

XI.



AS almost all the senators were in the interest of Hannibal, there was no occasion for disputing what was said by Hanno. After he had concluded his speech, they reproached him with having spoken with more virulence and animosity, than the Roman ambassador Flaccus Valerius. Then they returned this answer to the Roman deputies, that it was the Saguntines, not Hannibal, who had been aggressors in the war ; and that the Romans would act unjustly, if they preferred the Saguntines to their ancient allies the Carthaginians." While the Romans thus lost time in sending embassies, Hannibal, seeing his troops fatigued by fighting and working without any respite, gave them a few days rest, having in the mean time posted guards for the defence of his galleries and other works. During this time he revived their courage, sometimes by provoking their resentment against the enemy, and sometimes by hopes of re-wards.



wards. But when he publickly declared, that the plunder should be their own, when they had taken the town, they were all animated to such a degree, that had the signal been given that instant, nothing seemed capable of resisting them. Though the Saguntines had enjoyed some respite from fighting, neither annoying the enemy, nor being annoyed by them for a few days, yet they did not suspend their working, but labored day and night in building a new wall where the old one had fallen and left the city exposed. Then the enemy renewed their attack with considerably more vigor than formerly, and the besiegers were so confounded with the shouts resounding from all quarters, that they could not possibly know what part first or most needed their relief. Hannibal in person animated his troops at a place which he had approached with a moving tower higher than the fortifications of the town. After he had applied it, and, by the balistas and catapultas fixed in all its stories, cleared the wall of defenders, he believed the time was come to carry the place, and sent about 500 Africans with pickaxes to undermine the wall. This was not a very difficult work, as they were not cemented with lime, but with clay according to the ancient custom. So that they tumbled down much farther, than where they were undermined, and whole battalions of armed men entered the town through these breaches. They likewise seized an eminence, to which they brought their catapultas and balistas. This hill they surrounded with a wall, that they might have a fort in the city, which might like a citadel command it. The Saguntines likewise raised a new wall within that part which was not yet taken by the enemy. Both sides worked and fought with the utmost vigor. But the Saguntines, though they bravely defended what was left, saw their city daily diminished. Besides, by the length of the siege, they began to be more and more in want of all kinds of provisions, and had daily less expectation of relief from



CHAP. from without, as the Romans, their sole resource,  
 XI. were so remote, and all the country round them in possession of the enemy. However, their afflicted minds were relieved for a short time, by Hannibal's being obliged to march against the Oretani<sup>a</sup> and Carpetani. These two nations, discontented at the rigor with which the levies were made in their country, had seized the recruiting officers, and made the Carthaginian apprehensive they would revolt: but he having surprized them, they laid down their arms, and remained quiet.

CHAP. BUT the siege of Saguntum was still pushed  
 XII. on with no less vigor. For Maherbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had left to command, exerted himself with so much activity, that neither besieged or besiegers were sensible of the general's absence. This officer had the advantage in several rencounters, beat down part of the wall with three battering rams, and shewed Hannibal, at his return, every place full of ruins which he had lately made. Upon this the army was immediately led to attack the citadel, where there happened an obstinate and bloody battle on both sides, and part of it was taken. Then Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus a Spaniard, tried the small hopes that remained of obtaining peace. Alcon, imagining that he could move the Carthaginian by prayers, went, without the knowledge of his countrymen, to him in the night: but when he found his tears had no effect, and that the incensed conqueror insisted on extremely hard terms, he became of a negotiator a deserter, and stayed with the enemy, affirming, that his countrymen would put any man to death, who should propose such conditions of peace to them. The terms insisted on were, “ that they should “ make satisfaction to the Turdetani, deliver up all

<sup>a</sup> Their country, a part of the province of *Terragona*, was full of rocks and hills, in the south part of *Novu Castille*, bordering on *Lusitania* and *Boetica*. Their capital *Oretum*

stood near the *Guadiana*. *Marolles* thinks it is the present *Calatrava*; but *Sanson* will have it to be *Notre Dame di Oret*.



“ their gold and silver, quit the place with one garment apiece, and settle in whatever place the Carthaginian should assign.” Alcon protested that the Saguntines would never submit to these terms. But Alorcus, affirming, that, where every thing else is lost, courage must yield, undertook to propose them. This man was then a soldier in Hannibal’s army ; but openly professed a friendship and kindness for the Saguntines. After publicly delivering up his arms to the sentinels of the besieged, he passed their fortifications, and was, agreeable to his own desire, carried before the governor of the town. A great multitude of all ranks instantly flocked thither ; but the rabble being removed, Alorcus had audience of the senate, whom he addressed in the following terms.

“ If your fellow citizen Alcon, after having gone to Hannibal to sue for peace, had returned with the conditions insisted on, my journey, which I have made, neither as a deputy from the Carthaginian, or a deserter to you, would have been needless. But as he has staid with the enemy, either through his own fault, by pretending to be afraid of you, or your’s, by it’s being dangerous to tell you the truth ; I have come, in regard to that friendship, which has long subsisted between us, to inform you, that you may still obtain some terms of life and peace. And that I have no other view, but to your interest, in what I now urge, I hope you will firmly believe from this circumstance, that I never made the least mention of peace to you, while you were in a condition to defend yourselves, or had any hopes of aid from the Romans. Now you can no longer rely on relief from them, and neither your arms or walls can secure you, I bring you a peace, on terms rather necessary than reasonable. My sole hopes of being able to conclude it, rest on your accepting as a conquered people the terms which the Carthaginian imposes as a



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XIII.



“conqueror; on your considering, where every thing  
 “belongs to the conqueror, whatever is left you as  
 “a gift, and not whatever is taken from you as a  
 “loss. He deprives you of your city, which is  
 “already in a great measure demolished, and al-  
 “most entirely in his possession; but he leaves you  
 “your lands, and will assign you a spot whereon  
 “to build a new city: he orders all the gold and  
 “silver, either belonging to the public or to indi-  
 “viduals, to be brought to him; but he will not  
 “touch your lives, your wives and children, pro-  
 “vided you quit Saguntum with a single garment  
 “apiece, but without arms. These are the terms  
 “a victorious enemy imposes, and hard and severe  
 “as they are, the condition you are in ought to in-  
 “duce you to accept them. Nay, I do not de-  
 “spair of his abating some part of them, when  
 “you have once submitted every thing to him.  
 “But in all events I think it would be better for  
 “you to stoop to these, than to suffer your throats  
 “to be cut, and your wives and children before  
 “your faces ravished and dragged into slavery as  
 “prisoners of war.”

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XIV.



THE multitude, by degrees crowding round  
 to hear the speech, had formed a mixed assembly  
 of senators and people, when the principal men,  
 before an answer could be given, retired, and bring-  
 ing all the silver and gold, belonging either to the  
 public or individuals, into the forum, threw them  
 into a fire, which had been suddenly lighted for that  
 purpose, and then the greatest part of them threw  
 themselves after it. While this spread an universal  
 terror and consternation through the city, another  
 great noise was heard from the citadel. A tower,  
 which the enemy had long battered, had fallen. A  
 battalion of Carthaginians had that moment attack-  
 ed the breach, and sent word to their general, that  
 the place was not defended as it used to be by  
 guards and sentinels. Hannibal, convinced that he  
 ought to improve so fair an opportunity, brought  
 his



his whole troops on to the assault, and took the place in a moment's time. Then he gave orders to kill all of an age fit to bear arms. These were cruel orders, but the event confirmed that they were almost absolutely necessary. For was it possible to spare any of those, who shut themselves up in their houses, and either burnt themselves there with their wives and children, or fought sword in hand to the last moment of their lives?

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THUS was the town taken with great booty in it. Though the inhabitants had purposely spoiled the greatest part of their effects, the conquerors, in the fury of their resentment, had slaughtered all without regard to age, and the soldiers were to have the prisoners as booty; yet it is certain a considerable sum of money was made of what was sold, and great quantities of fine furniture and rich apparel sent to Carthage. According to some authors, Saguntum was taken in the eighth month after it was invested: Hannibal went from it into winter quarters at New Carthage, and marched into Italy five months after he quitted the latter. But if this be true, it is impossible, that P. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius were the consuls in office, to whom the Saguntine ambassadors were sent at the beginning of the siege, and one of whom, during his office, fought Hannibal at the Ticin, and both soon after at Trebia. But either all these events must have been brought about in less time, or Saguntum not begun to be invested, but actually taken in the beginning of that year, in which these two were consuls. For the battle of Trebia could never have fallen out so late as the consulate of Cn. Servilius and Flaminius; because the latter entered into office at Ariminum, having been elected by Ti. Sempronius, who went after the battle of Trebia to Rome to get consuls chosen, and returned, on ending the comitia, to the army, which was then in winter quarters.

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XV.

AT the same time that the ambassadors, who

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were returned from Carthage, brought word to Rome that nothing was to be expected but war, the news of the sack of Saguntum arrived. The fathers were so filled with grief and pity for the undeserved fate of their allies, shame for not having succored them, resentment against the Carthaginians, and as great apprehension for the safety of their own state, as if the enemy had been at their gates; that while their breasts were agitated by so various passions, they rather shewed their consternation, than came to any salutary resolution. They considered, “ that  
 “ they never had to do with so inveterate and war-  
 “ like an enemy; and that the Roman state had  
 “ never been less vigorous, or little inured to arms.  
 “ Their conflicts with the Sardinians, Corsicans,  
 “ Istrians, and Illyrians, had rather provoked than  
 “ really exercised their arms; and they had rather  
 “ had tumultuous rencounters, than a stated war  
 “ with the Gauls. But the Carthaginians were an  
 “ old experienced enemy, who during twenty three  
 “ years past had always come off conquerors in the  
 “ fiercest battles with the nations in Spain, at first  
 “ under the command of Hamilcar, next of As-  
 “ drubal, and now of Hannibal, a most enterpriz-  
 “ ing general; who, flushed with the late destruc-  
 “ tion of so wealthy a city, was passing the Ebro,  
 “ with innumerable nations of Spain at his heels,  
 “ and would soon raise those of Gaul, who were al-  
 “ ways fond of war. Thus they would be reduc-  
 “ ed to defend the walls of Rome against all the  
 “ nations of the universe assembled in Italy.”

CHAP.

XVII.



THE consuls had already had their provinces assigned them, but now they were ordered to draw lots for them anew. Spain fell to Cornelius, and Africa and Sicily to Sempronius. The number of troops for the service of that year were ordered to be 6 legions; the quota of the allies left to the discretion of the consuls, and as great a fleet as could be fitted out. The whole combined force consisted of 24000 Roman foot, and 1800 horse; 44000  
 foot,



foot, and 4000 horse of the allies; 220 quinque-remes, and twenty frigates. Then a bill was laid before the people for their consent and order for de-  
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declaring war against the Carthaginians. A supplication was likewise observed through the city on account of the war, and they implored the gods to grant success to these arms, which had been taken up by command of the Roman people. The troops were divided between the two consuls in the following manner. Two legions, consisting of 4000 foot, and 300 horse each, with 16000 foot, and 1800 horse of the allies, 160 quinqueremes, and twelve frigates, were given to Sempronius. With these land and sea forces he was sent into Sicily, from whence he was to sail to Africa, provided the other consul was able to keep the Carthaginian from entering Italy. Cornelius had fewer troops granted him, because L. Manlius, the prætor, had been sent with a strong army into Gaul. But in particular they lessened his share of the fleet. As they did not believe the enemy would come by sea, or that there would be much fighting on that element, they gave him only 60 quinqueremes, two Roman legions, with their exact complement of horse, 14000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies. The same year two Roman legions, 14000 foot, 1000 horse of the allies, and 600 Roman knights, were sent into Gaul to oppose the Carthaginians.

AFTER all these preparations, that they might perform every thing required to justify the war being lawful, they sent five venerable men, Q. Fabius, M. Livius, L. Æmilius, C. Licinius, and Q. Bæbius, ambassadors into Africa, to demand of the Carthaginians whether Hannibal had besieged Saguntum by order of their state? And if they acknowledged and justified it's being so, as it was probable they would, to declare war against them. When they arrived and had their audience of the senate, Q. Fabius, without more words, made the demand in the express terms of his commission.



CHAP. Then one of the principal Carthaginians replied,

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“ Romans, your first embassy, when you demand-  
 “ ed Hannibal to be delivered up to you for be-  
 “ sieging Saguntum by his own authority, was car-  
 “ rying your pride to a great height. But your  
 “ second, though couched in milder words, is still  
 “ more insolent. For then your accusations and  
 “ demands were confined solely to Hannibal; now  
 “ you demand even of us a confession of a crime,  
 “ and satisfaction for that crime, as if we had  
 “ pleaded guilty. But, in my opinion, the questi-  
 “ on between us ought not to be, whether Sagun-  
 “ tum was attacked by the authority of our state,  
 “ or of an individual, but whether this attack was  
 “ just or unjust in itself. We alone have right to  
 “ examine and punish a member of our state, if he  
 “ has acted any thing of his own proper motion  
 “ without our orders. You have no farther con-  
 “ cern with the action, than to enquire whether it  
 “ was agreeable to treaty or not. Therefore since  
 “ you think fit to distinguish between what gene-  
 “ rals do by public authority and what of their  
 “ own accord, I confess the treaty made by your  
 “ consul Lutatius is still subsisting between us, and  
 “ in it there is a clause which provides for the safe-  
 “ ty of the allies of both states. But the Sagun-  
 “ tines are not mentioned in it, because they were  
 “ not your allies at that time. But, you will re-  
 “ ply, perhaps, that they are not excepted out of  
 “ that treaty which you made with Asdrubal. In  
 “ answer to this, I shall only urge what I have  
 “ learned from you. You insisted you were not  
 “ bound by the first treaty made with the consul  
 “ C. Lutatius, because it was made without the au-  
 “ thority of the senate, or order of your people.  
 “ Wherefore a new one was drawn up by your  
 “ state. If therefore your treaties, which are made  
 “ without your order or authority, are not obliga-  
 “ tory upon you, neither can we be bound to exe-  
 “ cute the treaty which Asdrubal entered into with-

“ out



“ out our knowledge. Henceforth, therefore, cease to  
 “ mention Saguntum and the Ebro, and give at length  
 “ birth to what you have so long concealed within  
 “ your breasts.” Then the Roman, taking up the  
 ends of his robe, so as to make a hollow, said, “ Here,  
 “ we bring you peace and war ; take which you  
 “ please.” At this speech they all cried out with no  
 less vehemence, “ Give us which you think proper.”  
 And when upon letting fall the fold of his robe, he said,  
 “ he gave them war,” they all replied, “ they ac-  
 “ cepted it willingly, and would prosecute it with  
 “ the same resolution with which they received it.”

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THIS plain open manner of interrogating the  
 Carthaginians, and declaring war against them, the  
 Romans thought more consistent with the dignity of  
 their character, than to amuse themselves with re-  
 fined arguments on the right construction of trea-  
 ties ; which served no purpose before the demolition  
 of Saguntum, and would be of far less signification  
 now it was taken. For had they chosen to enter  
 into the dispute, it was plain, that the treaty made  
 with Asdrubal was not to be compared with the first  
 of Lutatius, in room of which it was made ; since  
 it was expressly stipulated in the latter, “ that it  
 “ should only be obligatory, if the Roman people  
 “ approved of it.” Whereas there was no such ex-  
 ception in that made with Asdrubal, and it had  
 been approved in such a manner by a silence of so  
 many years as he had lived after it, that no body  
 even pretended to make any alteration in it after his  
 death. Besides, put the case that they adhered to  
 the first treaty, the Saguntines were sufficiently com-  
 prehended in this general clause, “ the allies of  
 “ both states excepted.” For it is not added,  
 THOSE WHO THEN WERE, NOR THOSE WHO  
 SHOULD BECOME SO AFTERWARDS. Could any  
 one think it reasonable, that either the Romans  
 could not, for any services, receive a people into  
 their amity, or protect them after they were ad-  
 mitted into alliance, when it had only been stipu-  
 lated,

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XIX.

lated, that none of the Carthaginian allies should be enticed to revolt, or, if they did fall off of their own accord, not be received? The Roman embassadors, according to the instructions they received at Rome, proceeded from Carthage to Spain, to go round among the states of that nation, either to engage them to enter into alliance with the Romans, or draw them off from that of the Carthaginians. They came first to the Bargusians<sup>a</sup>, who, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, received them very kindly, and by their example inspired many nations beyond the Ebro to change sides. Then they applied to the Volscians<sup>b</sup>, but the celebrated answer they received from them, spreading all over Spain, made the rest of their states averse to entering into alliance with the Romans. For the most venerable person in their assembly said, “Are not ye ashamed, Romans, to ask us to prefer your alliance to that of the Carthaginians? when the Saguntines, who did so, were more inhumanly betrayed by you their allies, than cruelly treated by Hannibal who destroyed them. I advise you to go seek for allies in countries where the fate of Saguntum is not known. The ruins of that city are a sad but powerful monument to deter the states of Spain from relying on the faith or friendship of the Romans.” Then they were ordered to quit the Volscian territories directly. They did not receive a more favorable answer from any canton in Spain. Wherefore, after having travelled through all that country to no effect, they passed over into Gaul.

CHAP.

XX.

THERE they saw a strange and terrible sight. The Gauls, according to the custom of their country, came to their assemblies completely armed. Here, after extolling the renown and valor of the Romans, and the grandeur of their empire, they demanded that the Gauls would not grant the Car-

<sup>a</sup> Living between Arragon and Catalonia,

<sup>b</sup> *Dejotius* would read *Pescitanos*, the people of the modern *Huesca*, thaginians,



thaginian, who was going to invade Italy, a passage through their territories. This raised so great a clamor and fit of laughter, that the magistrates and old men could scarce quiet the young ; so void of reason and shame did it seem, to demand that the Gauls, rather than suffer the war to be carried into Italy, should draw it upon themselves, and expose their own lands to be plundered for the sake of saving those of strangers. The tumult being at length appeased, they made the ambassadors this reply, “ We have never been so much obliged to  
“ the Romans, or so ill treated by the Carthagini-  
“ ans, as that we ought to take arms in favor of  
“ the former, or against the latter. On the con-  
“ trary, we have been informed, that the Romans  
“ have driven our countrymen out of their settle-  
“ ments and possessions in Italy, imposed a tribute  
“ on them, and loaded them with other marks of  
“ indignity.” The very same reply almost was made them in the other assemblies of Gaul. Neither did they receive any kind entertainment, or marks of friendship, till they came to Marseilles. These allies informed them of every thing which they had diligently and faithfully enquired into.  
“ That all the Gauls were prepossessed by Hanni-  
“ bal ; but were so fierce and unruly a nation,  
“ that they would not continue long in his interest,  
“ if he did not attach their chiefs by frequent pre-  
“ sents, as they were a very covetous nation.” The ambassadors, after having in this manner travelled over all Spain and Gaul, arrived at Rome immediately after the consuls had set out for their provinces. Here they found every person in full expectation of the war, as they had pretty certain accounts, that the Carthaginians had already passed the Ebro.

AFTER the taking of Saguntum, Hannibal had retired into winter quarters at New Carthage, where he had intelligence of every action and resolution, both at Carthage and Rome ; and that he was looked on not only as the leader, but cause of  
the



CHAP. the war. In consequence, he sold and distributed  
 XXI. the remainder of the plunder, and, thinking he  
 had no time to lose, assembled his Spanish troops,  
 and addressed them thus. “ I believe, fellow sol-  
 “ diers, you clearly perceive, that, now we have  
 “ established tranquillity throughout all the states  
 “ of Spain, we must either quit our arms, and dis-  
 “ band our troops, or carry the war into other  
 “ countries. For the people of this will not other-  
 “ wise reap the advantages either of peace or victo-  
 “ ry, than by our going in quest of plunder and  
 “ glory among other nations. Therefore, as we  
 “ are about to enter upon a very remote war, and  
 “ it is uncertain when you will again have the sa-  
 “ tisfaction of seeing your homes, and whatever  
 “ there is dear to you, if any of you have an in-  
 “ clination to visit your friends, I freely grant you  
 “ permission. But I strictly order you to return  
 “ very early in the spring, that, with the assistance  
 “ of the gods, we may begin a war, in which we  
 “ shall reap many laurels, and be enriched with  
 “ plunder.” This permission to go home, which  
 he granted of his own accord, was very agreeable  
 to them all, as they had a strong passion to see their  
 friends, from whom they foresaw they should after-  
 wards be long absent. The rest they enjoyed dur-  
 ing the whole winter, between the fatigues they had  
 already borne, and those they were still to go  
 through, inspired them with all the vigor, both of  
 body and mind, they had occasion for in their new  
 enterprizes. In obedience to his command, they re-  
 paired to their colors early in the spring. Hanni-  
 bal, after having received the auxiliaries sent by the  
 different nations, went to Gades, to perform his  
 former vows to Hercules, and bind himself by new  
 ones, for success in his future enterprizes. But, be-  
 ing no less solicitous for the defence of his country,  
 than intent upon attacking his enemies, he resolved  
 to secure Africa sufficiently, by sending thither a  
 strong body of Spanish troops, in case, if it was  
 left



left open and defenceless, the Romans should make descents upon it from Sicily, while he was marching by land through Spain and Gaul to invade Italy; in lieu of this he demanded a supply, chiefly of light-armed pikemen, being persuaded that the troops of both nations, the Africans in Spain and Spaniards in Africa, would prove better soldiers at a distance from home, especially as they would be mutual pledges for performing their duty faithfully. He therefore sent into Africa 13850 foot armed with light bucklers, 870 slingers of the islands Baleares<sup>a</sup>, and 1400 horse composed of different nations. He ordered Carthage to be garisoned with part of these troops, and the rest to be cantoned through Africa. Besides, he sent recruiting officers to the several states of Spain, who raised 4000 chosen youth, whom he ordered to be sent to Carthage, there to remain as well for hostages as for the defence of that city.

NEITHER did he think proper to neglect Spain, especially as he knew very well, the Roman ambassadors had travelled it all over to sound the inclinations of it's chiefs. Wherefore he committed the charge of that province to his brother Asdrubal, an active man; and for it's defence assigned the greatest part of the reinforcements from Africa, 11850 African foot, 300 Ligurians, and 500 Balearian slingers. To this corps of foot, he added 300 Liby-Phœnician<sup>a</sup> horse, 1800 Numidians<sup>b</sup> and Mauritanians<sup>c</sup>, who live near the ocean, and 200 Ilergetes<sup>d</sup>, a Spanish nation. But that he might want nothing necessary to a land army, he gave him 14 elephants. And, as it was most probable the Romans would act vigorously by sea, where they had got the victory which put an end to the former war, he gave him for defence of the coast a fleet of 50 quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and 5 triremes,

<sup>a</sup> The modern *Majorca* and *Minorca*.

<sup>a</sup> A mixed race of Phœnicians and Africans,

<sup>b</sup> Vol. iii. p. 355.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Inhabiting a province of *Arragon*, beyond the *Sycoris*.



CHAP. completely fitted and manned. From Gades Han-  
 XXII. nibal's army returned to winter at Carthagera.  
 From thence he marched near Etoviffa<sup>c</sup>, towards  
 the Ebro, and sea-coasts. Here it is reported he  
 saw in his sleep a youth of divine form, who told  
 him that he was sent by Jupiter to conduct him into  
 Italy. He bade him follow him, and never lose  
 sight of him by turning to any other object. From  
 an awful dread he did so at first without looking on  
 either side or behind him. But then reflecting with-  
 in himself what it could be behind him that he was  
 forbidden to look at, from a curiosity natural to  
 mankind, he could not longer restrain his eyes. He  
 then saw a huge serpent rolling after him, and beat-  
 ing down the trees and shrubs with great havoc.  
 At the same time there happened a violent storm with  
 thunder. At last, when he asked what this havoc  
 and prodigy signified, a voice answered him, "that  
 " it presaged the desolation of Italy. Besides it  
 " bade him continue his march without enquiring  
 " farther into that event, but suffer it to remain a  
 " secret as the fates would have it."

CHAP. ELATED with this dream, he passed the E-  
 XXIII. bro with his army in three columns, having sent some  
 persons before by presents to gain the Gauls that  
 lay in his rout, and to find out the passages over  
 the Alps<sup>a</sup>. His army when it passed the Ebro,  
 consisted of 90000 foot, and 12000 horse. After this  
 he subjected the countries of the Ilergetes, Bargusi-  
 ans, Ausetani<sup>b</sup>, and Lacetani<sup>c</sup>, which lye at the  
 foot of the Pyrenees. He gave the government of  
 this country to Hanno, that he might be master of  
 the defiles that lye between Spain and Gaul. He  
 gave him 10000 foot and 1000 horse to keep it  
 in awe. When the army begun to march over  
 the Pyrenees, which was full of woods, and these  
 barbarians were more thoroughly convinced that

<sup>a</sup> Probably *Rinatics*, on the frontiers of Catalonia.

<sup>b</sup> Vel. i. p. 4. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Inhabiting the present *Vie d'O-*

*sona*, in Catalonia.

<sup>c</sup> Possessing part of the bishopric of Lerida, and of Catalonia, all along the sea-coast.



they were going to attack the Romans, 3000 Carpe- CHAP.  
tanian foot marched back to their own country. XXIII.

However it is certain they did not this from a dread of the war, but of the length of the way and the insuperable passage of the Alps.<sup>a</sup> Hannibal considering that it was a dangerous affair either to bring them back or retain them by force, for fear of irritating the savage tempers of the rest, dismissed 7000 more, whom he perceived to be weary of the war, pretending that he had in like manner discharged the Carpetani.

BUT lest delays and ease should debauch their CHAP.  
fickle minds, he passed the Pyrenees with the rest of XXIV.  
his troops, and pitched his camp at the city of Illiberis<sup>a</sup>. Though the Gauls had been apprized that the war was intended against Italy, yet being informed that the Carthaginian had by force subjected the Spanish states beyond the Pyrenees, and left a strong garison in their country, ran to arms, for fear of being enslaved in like manner. Several of the inhabitants of Ruscinon<sup>b</sup> assembled. As soon as Hannibal got advice of this, he was more apprehensive of the delay it would occasion, than of their force: wherefore he sent deputies to their petty kings to inform them “ that he wanted an interview with them. “ They might either come nearer Illiberis, or he “ would approach Ruscinon, that the short distance “ might facilitate their conferences. He would “ either with chearfulness admit them into his camp, “ or come himself without delay to them. For he “ was come as a guest not an enemy to Gaul, and “ if the Gauls pleased he would not draw his sword, “ till he arrived in Italy.” This message he sent by his deputies. But when their petty princes, who immediately removed their camp to Illiberis, were come without hesitation to the Carthaginian, they were so charmed with the presents he made them, that they suffered his army to pass peaceably through their territories, taking their rout by Ruscinon.

<sup>a</sup> Now Cellioure in Roussillon.

<sup>b</sup> Only a small tower of it now remains near Perpignan.





IN the mean time embassadors from Marseilles brought advice to Italy, that the Carthaginian had only passed the Ebro. But as if he had already passed the Alps, the Boii<sup>a</sup>, having likewise excited the Insubrians<sup>b</sup>, had revolted, not so much out of resentment of former injuries from the Romans, as because they could not bear the colonies, which had been lately settled at Placentia and Cremona<sup>c</sup>, upon the Po, in their country. Wherefore all of a sudden they took up arms, and attacking that colony, struck such terror and consternation into the people, that not only the peasants, but C. Lutatius, C. Servilius and T. Annius, the three commissioners who had been sent to divide the lands, not thinking themselves safe within the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina<sup>d</sup>. We are certain C. Lutatius was one of them; but some annals mention Q. Acilius and C. Herennius instead of C. Servilius and T. Annius; others, Cornelius Asina and C. Papirius Maso. Neither can we be positive whether it was the embassadors that were sent to expostulate with the Boii, who were abused, or whether the commissioners were attacked as they were measuring out the lands. While they were invested in Mutina, the enemy who were altogether unskilled in the art of besieging towns, extremely slow in military operations, and lay idly before the walls, without assailing them, pretended to set on foot a treaty of peace. But after the commissioners had been invited by the chiefs of the Gauls to a conference, they were seized not only contrary to the law of nations, but even in violation of an express agreement made at that time, and the Gauls absolutely refused to set them at liberty, except their own hostages were delivered up. Upon advice of what had happened to the embassadors, and of the danger Mutina and it's garison was in, L. Manlius the prætor, greatly enraged, marched his army thither in great haste and disorder. The road was

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii. p. 112. h.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xli. q.<sup>c</sup> Vol. iii. p. 474.<sup>d</sup> *Medana*.<sup>e</sup> Ibid.





then environed with woods for the most part uninhabited. Having marched into them without reconnoitring them, he fell headlong into ambuscades, from which he with difficulty extricated himself after great slaughter made of his men, and got into the open country, where he entrenched himself. Because the Gauls despaired of attacking his lines with success, it gave his troops fresh spirits, though it was sufficiently certain they had suffered extremely. Then they began to march again, and the enemy did not shew themselves while the Romans were in open places. But when they entered the woods again, they attacked their rear, struck the whole body with dread and consternation, killed 800 men and brought off six colors. As soon as they passed these rugged and pathless ways the Gauls ceased to strike terror and the Romans to be afraid. As they could easily defend themselves in open places, they marched to Tanetum<sup>e</sup>, a village near the Po. Here by strong lines, getting provisions by the river and the aid of the Brescian<sup>f</sup> Gauls, they defended themselves against the enemy, whose numbers daily increased.



WHEN the news of this sudden insurrection reached Rome, and the fathers saw that besides the Carthaginian war they were to be embroiled with the Gauls, they ordered the prætor C. Atilius, with one Roman legion and 5000 allies which the consul had lately raised, to go and relieve Manlius, who, as the enemy retired for fear, had got to Tanetum without fighting. P. Cornelius having levied a new legion in room of that which had been sent with the prætor, set out from the city, with a fleet of 60 men of war, kept along the coasts of Hetruria, Liguria and the mountains of the Salii, and arrived at Marseilles. As the Rhone empties itself into the sea at many different places, he encamped at that mouth of it which lyes next the city. He did not believe that the Carthaginian had yet passed the

<sup>e</sup> Tanedo in the republic of Modena, eight miles east of Parma.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. ii. p. 111. d.



CHAP.

XXVI.



Pyrenees. But being apprized that he was upon the point of passing the Rhone, he was some time at a loss in what place to meet him. His men had not recovered the fatigue of their voyage by sea. However he sent out in the mean time 300 chosen horse, under the direction of some Marseillians, and French auxiliaries, to reconnoitre the country, and discover the posture of the enemy without running any risque. Hannibal, having either overawed or by presents gained the other nations of Gaul, had arrived in the country of the Volcæ<sup>2</sup>, a powerful people, who dwelt on both sides of the Rhone. As they were diffident of being able to defend the hither side against the Carthaginian, that they might have the river for a bulwark, they transported most of their forces, and posted themselves on the other side ready armed to dispute his passage. All the other cantons which lay on the banks of that river, especially those whose territories the Carthaginian was now encamped in, he by presents prevailed with to bring together all their vessels and build him new ones. They of themselves were very desirous to transport his army, and to rid their own country with all expedition of so great a multitude, which oppressed it. Wherefore they got together a vast number of ships and boats run up in haste for the use of the neighbourhood. Then the Gauls began to make new ones by hollowing trees. The soldiers, seeing this was easily done, and that they had plenty of materials, made in haste some shapeless canoos to transport themselves and their baggage; for they regarded no more, but that these hulks should swim and hold their lading.

CHAP.

XXVII.



WHEN all things were ready for their passing over, they were afraid of the enemy, who had lined the opposite bank with horse and foot. But in order to draw them from that post, the Carthaginian ordered Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to set out at the

<sup>2</sup> Inhabiting lower *Languedoc*. *Nismes* is their capital and they are called *Arecomici*.



first watch of the night with a detachment consisting: CHAP.  
 mostly of Spanish troops, and march one day's jour- XXVII.  
 ney up the river, which he was to pass as secretly as  
 possible, at the first place he could, and then fetch a  
 compass and charge the enemy in the rear, when he  
 saw a convenient opportunity. The Gauls, who had  
 been assigned them as guides, led them about twenty  
 five miles, almost as high as a little island formed by  
 the river, which as it extended itself here in breadth,  
 and consequently was not so deep, they pointed out  
 as a proper place to pass at. Here having with all  
 expedition cut down wood they formed pontoons  
 for transporting men, horse and baggage. The Spa-  
 niards laid their clothes and bucklers on bladders  
 blown full of wind, and seating themselves above all,  
 got over without the least burden. The rest likewise  
 passed on floats and encamped hard by the river. As  
 they were fatigued with marching all night and work-  
 ing hard at their pontoons, they rested one day, while  
 their general was studying how to execute his orders  
 seasonably. The next day they left that ground, and  
 raised a smoke as a signal that they had got over and  
 were near at hand. As soon as Hannibal perceived  
 it, not to lose this opportunity, he gave the signal for  
 passing. The infantry had their boats ready prepared  
 and fitted. Near the horse that were swimming,  
 the troopers passed in a continued line of large vessels  
 higher up in order to break the violence of the stream,  
 and give a smooth passage to the craft below with the  
 foot. The greatest part of the horse were brought  
 over by being tied by halters to the stern of the boats.  
 But those which were to act immediately on their  
 landing were transported, ready bridled and harnessed,  
 in great boats.

THE Gauls, with dissonant songs and howlings CHAP.  
 according to their custom, ran in crowds to the XXVIII.  
 banks, shaking their bucklers over their heads and  
 brandishing their weapons in their right hands, though  
 at the same time such a number of transports, the  
 hideous roaring of the water, the mixed shouts of the  
 VOL. IV. D sailors



CHAP.

XXVIII.

failors and soldiers who strove to break the violence of the stream, and those on the other side animating them who were passing, greatly terrified them. But while they were thus frightened at the storm that threatned them from the opposite side, they heard a more dreadful shout behind, where Hanno had taken their camp. He immediately appeared, and thus they were endangered on all sides, as a great number of troops who had landed pressed them hard in front, while another body unexpectedly attacked them in rear. The Gauls after making some resistance, being beat, broke through wherever they saw the passage clear, and in great consternation fled up and down to their own villages. The Carthaginian transported the rest of his troops at his leisure, and despising the disorderly attacks of the Gauls, encamped there. I suppose they used various devices for transporting the elephants, at least we have different accounts of the manner in which it was performed. Some say, that after they were brought together on the banks, one of the fiercest of them being provoked by his manager pursued him, who fled on purpose into the water, and the whole herd followed; and as they were afraid to wade for fear of the depth, they were carried to the opposite bank by the force of the stream. But it is more probable that they were transported on floats, which, as it would appear to be a safer method before it was put in practice, so would more readily gain credit when over. They laid a vessel, 200 feet in length and 50 in breadth, from the bank into the water. That it might not be carried away by the force of the stream, it was made fast to the highest parts of the bank by strong cables. Then it was filled with earth, so that it looked like a bridge. Another vessel of equal breadth, but only 100 foot long, fit for crossing the river, was joined to it. And the elephants, being driven with the females foremost over the first vessel as on a firm road, passed into the lesser which was fastened to it. The halfers, which were but slightly made fast, being immediately let



let go, she was towed by small vessels with oars to the opposite side. When they had landed the first, they returned, till all the rest were fetched. While they were driven as if it had been over a long bridge, they were not in the least afraid, nor till after being parted from the rest, the vessel got into the stream. There struggling amongst themselves, and those next the water crowding from it, caused a frightful disorder among them. But when they saw nothing but water round them, fear itself made them quiet. Yet some of the most unruly of them fell into the river; but the weight of their bodies secured them against the violence of the current, and throwing those who managed them, they carefully kept the ford, and got safe to land.

IN the interim, while the elephants were transporting, Hannibal sent 500 Numidian horse to reconnoitre the Roman camp, to learn where they were, the number of their forces, and what preparations they had made to receive him. 300 Roman cavalry, which, as we have already observed, were detached from the mouth of the Rhone, met this party of Numidians, and a skirmish, much more furious than could have been expected from so small a number, ensued. Besides the wounded about an equal number was killed on each side. The Numidians fled in consternation and abandoned the victory to the Romans, who were already very much fatigued. The conquerors lost 160 men, not all Romans, but some Gauls; and upwards of 200 of the enemy were killed on the spot. This rencounter, which was the prelude to the war, as well as the omen of success to the Romans in the event of it, presaged that the victory would hang long in suspense and would in the end be purchased with much bloodshed. When the skirmish was over, each party returned to their own general. Scipio could come to no fixed determination, but was obliged to regulate his motions by the resolutions and enterprizes of the enemy. Hannibal too was in suspense, whether he should pursue his intended rout



CHAP. to Italy, by avoiding a battle at that time, or fight  
 XXIX. this Roman army which he had met with first. But  
 the arrival of deputies from the Boii and of their  
 petty prince Magalus removed his doubts. They  
 were of opinion that he ought to attack Italy while  
 his forces were entire, and not weakened by former  
 battles, and promised to be his guides in his march  
 and share in all his dangers. The generality of his  
 troops were in reality afraid of the enemy, as the  
 former war was not yet forgot ; but still more of the  
 long march and of the Alps, the very report of which  
 gave people unacquainted with them a terrible idea  
 of them.

CHAP. WHEREFORE Hannibal, as soon as he was  
 XXX. determined to proceed in his rout and march into  
 Italy, assembled his troops, and by different methods,  
 reproaches and exhortations, tried to rouse their  
 courage. “ I am surprized, said he, what sudden  
 “ terror can have seized you, who have always  
 “ hitherto been undaunted ; who have served so ma-  
 “ ny years and always been victorious ; who did not  
 “ leave Spain till all it’s nations, and that vast tract  
 “ of land which reaches from sea to sea, were entirely  
 “ subjected to Carthage ; who were so enraged at the  
 “ Romans insolently demanding, that all who were  
 “ besieging Saguntum should be delivered up to  
 “ them like felons, that you passed the Ebro with a  
 “ fixed resolution to extirpate the Roman name and  
 “ set the world free ! None of you then thought your  
 “ rout too long, though it had extended from the  
 “ extremity of the west to that of the east. But now,  
 “ when you have marched by far the greatest part,  
 “ passed the woody Pyrenees, through the most sa-  
 “ vage nations, and that great river the Rhone in  
 “ the face of so many thousand Gauls and in spite  
 “ of it’s rapid current, have in sight the Alps, the  
 “ opposite side of which is Italy, you faint and stop  
 “ at the very gates of your enemy. Do you form any  
 “ other idea of the Alps than merely as high moun-  
 “ tains ? Let us suppose they are higher than the top  
 “ of



“ of the Pyrenees ; yet there is no land so high as  
 “ to touch heaven, or that cannot be passed by man-  
 “ kind. It is certain they are inhabited, cultivated,  
 “ subsist and produce living creatures. Can they be  
 “ passed by a few individuals and not by whole  
 “ armies ? These embassadors from the Gauls, whom  
 “ you see before you, had not wings to fly over  
 “ them. Their ancestors were not natives of the  
 “ Alps, but strangers, who like wanderers safely  
 “ passed them in great bodies with their wives and  
 “ children to settle in Italy. What, pray, ought to  
 “ be unpassable or insuperable to a foldier, who car-  
 “ ries nothing with him but his arms and the instru-  
 “ ments of war ? What dangers, what fatigues did  
 “ you undergo in order to take Saguntum ? Could  
 “ any thing appear so difficult and hard to those  
 “ who were going to attack Rome, the capital of  
 “ the world, as to stay them in their enterprize ? Is  
 “ it possible that the Carthaginians despair of reach-  
 “ ing what the Gauls formerly took ? In fine, you  
 “ must either confess yourselves inferior in valor and  
 “ courage to a people, whom you have lately so  
 “ often defeated ; or you must hope to make the  
 “ fields betwixt the Tiber and the walls of Rome  
 “ the end of your journey.”

Having raised their spirits by these exhortations,  
 he ordered them to refresh themselves and prepare  
 for their march. The next day he turned about and  
 marched up the banks of the Rhone, into the inland  
 part of Gaul, not because it was a more direct way  
 to the Alps, but because he believed, the farther he  
 removed from the sea he would be in less danger of  
 meeting with the Romans, with whom he had no  
 mind to fight, before he came into Italy. After a  
 march of four days he arrived at an island, formed  
 by the Saone \* and Rhone, which, issuing out of  
 the Alps at different places, unite here. The  
 ground lying between is called an island. Near this

\* See the remarks of the fathers Catina and Rouillé, Vol. III. p. 63. n. 30.



CHAP.

XXXI.

dwelt the Allobroges<sup>b</sup>, a people even at that time inferior to none of the Gallic states in wealth and power, but at variance amongst themselves. Two brothers contended for the kingdom. The elder, whose name was Brancus and who had already been in possession of the crown, was deposed by the younger and a faction of the youth, who had power but not right on their side. Hannibal was chosen arbiter of this difference in the most seasonable time he could have wished, and, agreeable to the sentiments of the senate and principal men, restored the elder to his throne. In gratitude for this service the king supplied him with provisions, apparel and abundance of all other necessaries, which he was obliged to provide on account of the reports that the Alps were intolerably cold. Having thus composed the differences among the Allobroges, when he came to set out for the Alps, he did not intend to march directly cross the country, but turned off to the left hand into the territories of the Tricastins<sup>c</sup>; from thence he held his rout along the frontiers of the Vocontii<sup>d</sup>, to the country of the Tricorians<sup>e</sup>, without meeting any obstruction, till he came to the Drance<sup>f</sup>. This river likewise issues out of the Alps, and is by far the most difficult to pass of any in Gaul. For though it contains a vast quantity of water, yet it will bear no vessels, because by not being confined within banks, and running in several different channels, it continually forms new shelves and whirlpools. For this reason likewise a couple on foot can hardly trace out a way through it. Besides, as it rolls down stones and gravel, it has not a sound bottom, nor can he that fords it find sure footing. It likewise chanced at that time to be swelled by rains, which occasioned great confusion in the army as it was passing; and over and above these terrible difficulties, they were grievously discouraged by their own fears and strange cries.

<sup>b</sup> They lay between the *Rhône* and *Isère* from *Valencia* to the *Lake of Geneva*. So that they inhabited *Piemont*, *Savoy*, *Genevois*, and the cantons of *Gablais* and *Essigny*.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ii. p. 110. h.

<sup>d</sup> Inhabiting *Die* in *Dauphiny*.

<sup>e</sup> *Tricasti*.

<sup>f</sup> See *Catrou* and *Roissé*, Vol. iii. p. 64. n. 32.



ABOUT three days after the Carthaginian left the banks of the Rhone, the Roman Consul, P. Cornelius, came to the enemy's camp with his army drawn up in a square battalion, with an intention to have come immediately to blows. But seeing their lines abandoned, and that they had got too far before for him easily to overtake them, he returned to his ships on the coast, thinking it would be the safest and easiest way to meet Hannibal as he came down from the Alps. But that Spain, which had fallen to him by lot, might not be left destitute of Roman auxiliaries, he detached his brother Cn. Scipio, with the greatest part of his troops, against Asdrubal, not solely with an intention to protect their old allies and conciliate new, but even to drive that general out of that country. He himself set sail for Genoa with few troops, to defend Italy with that army which lay about Padua. From the Drance Hannibal marched through a champain country almost the whole way to the Alps without the least molestation from the Gauls who inhabited these parts. Although they had before formed a terrible idea of these mountains from report, which commonly exaggerates uncertainties beyond reality; yet when they saw the height of them near at hand, their tops cap't with snow almost penetrating heaven, the rude cottages built on rocks, sheep and oxen pinched with cold, the men savage and wearing long beards, every thing, both animate and inanimate, stiff with frost, and the whole prospect horrible beyond expression, their terror returned upon them. When the army was marching up the first precipices, the mountaineers appeared perched on the eminences above them. Had these savages posted themselves in the secret valleys and from thence suddenly fallen on the enemy, they would certainly have routed and made great havoc of them. Hannibal ordered his ensigns to halt, and when he understood by the French scouts he sent before to reconnoitre the ground, that there was no passage that way, he encamped in the largest plain he could find among those craggy rugged



CHAP. places. Then having learned from the same scouts,  
 XXXII. who, not differing much in language or manners  
 from these mountaineers, had mixed with them, that  
 they only guarded the cliffs by day, and stole at night  
 each to his own hut, he advanced by break of day to  
 the eminences, making a feint as if he would force a  
 passage through the defiles openly and in the day.  
 Having spent the day in making shew of what he  
 did not intend, he encamped in the same place where  
 he had stood all day. And as soon as he was certain  
 the mountaineers had left the eminences, and that  
 they were but slightly guarded, he lighted more fires  
 than were necessary for those that staid behind. Then  
 leaving the baggage, cavalry, and greatest part of  
 the infantry behind, he himself, with the nimblest  
 and light-armed, passed the defiles, and took posses-  
 sion of the eminences, which the enemy had kept.

CHAP. EARLY in the morning the rest decamped and  
 XXXIII. began to move forwards. By this time the moun-  
 taineers on a signal from their forts were repairing to  
 their usual post, when they suddenly perceived some  
 of the enemy above their heads in possession of their  
 strong hold, and others passing the defile. Both these  
 objects being presented to them at once, they re-  
 mained for some time motionless. But when they saw  
 the enemy intangled in the defile, and in great con-  
 fusion among themselves, the horses especially great-  
 ly affrighted, they imagined, that if they could only  
 make some addition to that terror, it would be suffi-  
 cient to ruin them entirely. Wherefore they run up and  
 down the rocks through inaccessible by-ways which  
 they were accustomed to. Thus were the Carthagini-  
 ans at the same time harassed by the enemy and the  
 disadvantage of the place. Yet, as each strove first to  
 escape the danger, they suffered more from each o-  
 ther than from the enemy. The horse however oc-  
 casioned the greatest disorder; for being frightened at  
 the dissonant cries, the horror whereof was increased  
 by the re-echo from the valleys, they were much  
 startled. And if any of them happened to be struck  
 or



or wounded, they made a terrible flouncing and great CHAP. havoc, both of men and carriages. Besides, the XXXIII. crowd was so great, and the defiles so narrow and steep on both sides, that many, not only servants but even soldiers, fell down a vast height; and sumpter horses, with their loads, tumbled down like the crash of a falling house. Though this was a horrible spectacle, yet Hannibal looked on for some time, and kept back those that were with him, for fear of increasing the confusion and consternation. But when he saw his army broke, and in danger of losing their carriages, destitute of which it would be in vain to carry them over safe, he came down from the eminence, and at the same time that he charged and routed the enemy, augmented the confusion amongst his own troops. But that was soon over, when they found a free passage left them by the flight of the mountaineers; and they not only marched free from their attacks, but from their cries and howlings. Then he took a fortress<sup>a</sup>, which was the capital of that district, and the villages that lay round it. He subsisted his army on the enemy's flocks for three days. During that time he made considerable progress in his march, as the mountaineers had been driven away before, and he was not greatly obstructed by a difficult path.

THEN he arrived at the most populous canton CHAP. on all these mountains. Here he was not openly at- XXXIV. tacked, but almost trapped by his own arts, treachery and snares. Some old men, who commanded castles there, came as deputies to him, and told him, “ that, taught by the profitable example of others misfortunes, they chose rather to have recourse to the friendship, than feel the force of his arms. Therefore as they would readily submit to him, they begged he would accept of provisions, guides on his march, and hostages for their faithful observance of their promises.” The Carthaginian would not rashly rely on them, nor would he, by contemptuously rejecting their offers, make them declare openly against him; but gave them a civil answer.

<sup>a</sup> Brilangen.



CHAP. answer. He accepted their hostages, used the pro-  
 xxxiv. visions which they brought him on the road ; but, as if he had been in an enemy's country, followed their guides with his troops ready for action. His elephants and cavalry marched in the front. Then he himself, carefully noticing every thing, brought up the foot, which made the main body. When they had got into a defile, one side of which lay under a steep hill which commanded it, the barbarians starting up out of their ambuscade in front and rear, charged him both at hand and at a distance. They rolled down huge stones upon the army. But the rear was most vigorously attacked. He made his foot face the enemy here, and it is certain, that if these last lines had not been strong and well supported, he had received a terrible overthrow in that defile. As it was, he was in the utmost danger of being destroyed. For while he was in suspense whether to make his army pass, since he had left his foot no support, as they were to the horse, the mountaineers flanked him, broke through his center, and took possession of the ground between his front and rear. Thus Hannibal passed a whole night without cavalry or baggage.

CHAP. THE next day, as the barbarians did not attack  
 xxxv. him so furiously, the two divisions joined, and passed the defile, but not without loss. However, they lost more carriage horses than men. From henceforth the mountaineers appeared in smaller bodies, and more like robbers than soldiers, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the rear, either according as the place favored them, or some of the Carthaginians gave them opportunity, by marching faster or slower than the rest of the army. As on the one hand the elephants, which were always ready to tumble headlong in these narrow paths, marched very slow, so, on the other, wherever they came they sheltered the army from the enemy, who, not being accustomed to them, were afraid to come near them. After a march of nine days, Hannibal reached the



top of the Alps, through many pathless ways, and after wandering out of the direct road, either by the treachery of his guides, or, where he durst not trust them, by entering the plains at a venture, and guessing the way. Here he halted two days, to rest his army, wearied with marching and fighting. Several of the carriage beasts, who had fallen down among the rocks, likewise arrived in the camp, having followed the track of the army. While they were oppressed with continued hardships, a great fall of snow added considerably to their fear. The Pleiades had then left that horizon<sup>a</sup>. Having begun their march about day-break, and moved very slow through the snow, which was very deep in every place, and backwardness and despair appeared in all their countenances, Hannibal, stepping to the front, got upon a high rock. Here taking a prospect far and wide, he ordered his troops to halt, and shewed them Italy, with the fertile country round the Po, at the foot of the Alps. “Now, says he, you have scaled the walls not only of Italy, but even of Rome. The remainder of your march will be plain and downhill. One, or, at the most, two battles, will make you absolute masters of the bulwark and capital of Italy.” Then they continued their march, without any enemy’s attempting to harass them farther than by petty robberies when a fit occasion offered. Yet as the Alps on the side of Italy are not so high, but steeper, their descent was much more difficult than their march up had been. For all the way was steep, narrow and slippery, so that they could not keep themselves from sliding, and if they made but the least stumble, they could not recover, and tumbled one upon another, horse and men promiscuously.

THEN they came to a place more difficult than any they had yet met with. For the rock was so perpendicular, that a light-armed soldier durst hardly attempt it, or let himself down by laying hold on

CHAP.  
xxxv.

CHAP.  
xxxvi.

<sup>a</sup>-About the end of October.



CHAP. the twigs and bushes that grew round it. The place  
 xxxvi. had been of itself extremely steep before, but by a  
 late falling in of the earth, had been so divided, that  
 it formed an abyfs near a thousand feet deep. Here  
 the cavalry stopt as if they had been come to the end  
 of their rout. When Hannibal seemed surprized  
 what stopt them, he was told the rock was impassa-  
 ble. Then he went himself to view it, and saw,  
 for certain, that he must take a long compass through  
 pathless and untrodden ways. But this was likewise  
 unpracticable. For though they could easily march  
 in the new snow, which was of a moderate depth and  
 soft, above the old which had never been touched;  
 yet when it came to be melted by the treading of  
 such numbers of men and beasts, they walked in  
 streams of liquified snow with bare ice underneath.  
 There they had terrible struggling, as they could not  
 tread sure on the slippery ice, and fell the sooner as  
 the place was steep. Whether they used their hands  
 or knees to help them up again, those slipt likewise,  
 and if they fell a second time, there was neither twig  
 or root to lay hold of either with hand or foot. As  
 for the beasts all they could do was to wallow on the  
 ice in melted snow. Sometimes they broke it, and  
 by that means penetrating the snow beneath fell:  
 then by striking with their hoofs to get fast hold,  
 they plunged into it in such a manner, that the great-  
 est part, as if caught in a gin, stuck fast in the thick  
 congealed ice.

CHAP. A T length, when both men and beasts were tired  
 xxxvii. to no purpose, they encamped on the top of the rock.  
 There was so much snow to be dug and carried away,  
 that with the greatest difficulty they got the place  
 cleared. Then the soldiers were set to level the rock,  
 by which alone they could find a passage. In order  
 to split it, huge trees were felled and laid round it.  
 Thus they raised a great pile of wood, and when the  
 wind blew favorably for it, set it on fire. When the  
 rock was red hot they poured vinegar on it to cal-  
 cine and dissolve it. Being thus heated by the fire,  
 they



they dug into it with pickaxes, and made the descent CHAP.  
XXXVII.  
easy by moderate windings, so that not only the cattle, but even the elephants could be brought down it. Four days were employed in levelling this place, and as the tops of those rocks are generally bare, or, if they have any grass, it is covered with snow, most of the carriage beasts perished with hunger. In the valley below were several little hills exposed to the influence of the sun, and rivulets near woods. These were places fitter for men to inhabit than the Alps. Here the carriage beasts were sent to grass, and the men, fatigued with levelling the path, enjoyed repose for three days. Then they went down into the champain country, where the place was more delightful, and the inhabitants civilized.

IN this manner chiefly did Hannibal arrive in CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
Italy, five months, according to some authors, after he left New Carthage, and after employing fifteen days in passing the Alps. Authors are by no means agreed as to the number of troops which he brought into Italy. Those who call them most, say 100000 foot and 20000 horse: those who reckon least, 20000 foot and 6000 horse. The authority of L. Cincius Alimentus, who says he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would weigh most with me, if he did not confound the account by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. With them he reckons 80000 foot and 10000 horse brought into Italy, or, what is more likely, and supported by the testimony of some historians, flocked to him there. For Hannibal himself was heard to say, that betwixt his passing the Rhone and arrival in Italy, he lost 36000 men, a great number of horses and other cattle amongst the Piedmontese, the next nation to the Gauls. As this is a matter agreed upon by all, I am surprized there should be any doubt about the place where he passed the Alps, and that it should be commonly believed he passed the Pennines<sup>a</sup>, and that the top of the Alps got this name from that circumstance. Cœlius says, he pass-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 83. 2.



CHAP. ed mount Cremon<sup>b</sup>. Whereas both these mounts  
 xxxviii. would have led him, not through the Taurinian territories, but to the Libuans, through the mountains of the Salaffi. Neither is it probable, that these roads into Gaul were then opened, considering that that which leads to the Pennines was surrounded with a people half Germans. Neither in fact, if this circumstance can have any weight, do the Veragri<sup>c</sup>, who inhabit that mount, know that these mountains did not receive that name from the Carthaginians passing them, but from a consecrated place on their very top, which the mountaineers calls Penninum.

CHAP. IT happened very luckily at his first setting out,  
 xxxix. that the Insubrians were at war with the Taurini, the neighboring people. As Hannibal was employed in giving rest to his troops, that now sensibly felt the pains they had contracted before, he could not take the field to aid either side. For ease after great fatigue, plenty after famine, and good keeping after filthiness and nastiness, had strange effects on their bodies, which were all over loathsome and full of blotches. For this reason the consul P. Cornelius, as soon as he arrived at Pisa<sup>a</sup> with his fleet, and had received, from Manlius and Atilius, the raw army, yet in consternation at their late disgrace, resolved to hasten to the Po, that he might fight the enemy before they had recovered their strength. But by the time the consul arrived at Placentia, Hannibal had moved out of his camp, and taken Turin the capital of the Piedmontese by storm, because it would not voluntarily enter into an alliance with him. He would have brought the Gauls upon the Po to join him, not so much out of fear, as by inclination, had not the arrival of the consul surprized them as they were waiting a fit opportunity to revolt. Hannibal likewise quitted Piedmont, from a persuasion, that the Gauls, who were not determined what side to

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured to be a part of the *Alpes Graeae*, between *Valais* and *Val d'Aoste*, where *Cramoyon* now stands, or else the little *St. Bernard*,

called *jugum Centronum*.

<sup>c</sup> Their capital, *St. Maurice*.

<sup>a</sup> In *Tuscany*.



take, would join him when he was on the spot. The two armies were now almost in fight, and the generals approached nearer and nearer. Hitherto they knew little, but had conceived an admiration of each other. For the name of Hannibal had been very famous among the Romans ever since the destruction of Saguntum; and the Carthaginian was convinced that Scipio must be a very great man, from the circumstance of his being chosen preferable to all others to command against him. What still augmented this high opinion in them both, was, that Scipio, who was left in Gaul, had met Hannibal at his arrival in Italy. and that Hannibal should be so bold as to attempt to pass the Alps, and execute it too. But Scipio was beforehand with the Carthaginian in crossing the Po, and having encamped at the river Ticin, resolved before he led his troops to battle, to encourage them by a suitable harangue to the following effect.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

“ I F, fellow foldiers, I were to lead on to battle  
 “ the same troops which I had with me in Gaul, I  
 “ might well forbear this harangue to you. For what  
 “ occasion could there be to use exhortations to a ca-  
 “ valry, which gave the enemy’s horse so signal an  
 “ overthrow at the Rhone; or to legions with whom I  
 “ pursued this very enemy, whose flight and avoiding  
 “ battle I held as a confession of my victory? Now,  
 “ as those troops, having been enrolled for Spain,  
 “ are acting with my brother at their head under  
 “ my auspices in the province where the senate and  
 “ people of Rome desire they should serve, I have  
 “ voluntarily taken upon me to command in this war,  
 “ that ye might have a consul for your captain against  
 “ Hannibal and the Carthaginians. As then I am a  
 “ new general to a new army, a short speech from  
 “ me will be very proper. That you may be apprized  
 “ of the nature of the war, and what sort of enemies  
 “ you are to encounter; they are the same which  
 “ you vanquished both by sea and land in a former  
 “ war; the same who have been your tributaries  
 “ these

CHAP.  
XL.



CHAP. XL.   
 “ these twenty years past ; and from whom you took  
 “ Sicily and Sardinia, which you now possess as the  
 “ rewards and trophies of your prowess. Therefore  
 “ I hope you will behave in this engagement with  
 “ the courage common in conquerors, and they as  
 “ the conquered usually do. Neither is it innate  
 “ courage, but mere necessity, that now urges them  
 “ on to battle ; except it could be believed, that those,  
 “ who avoided fighting when their troops were in-  
 “ tire, have acquired more spirit by the loss of two  
 “ thirds of their horse and foot in the passage of the  
 “ Alps (for in fact more perished than remain alive.)  
 “ But, you’ll say, though they are few in number,  
 “ yet they are men of so stout hearts and robust bo-  
 “ dies, champions of such strength and vigor as no-  
 “ thing is able to resist. Mere effigies, nay sha-  
 “ dows of men, emaciated with hunger and cold,  
 “ almost killed with filthiness and nastiness, bruised  
 “ and battered amongst the craggs and rocks ; their  
 “ joints pinched, their sinews shrunk with cold ;  
 “ their limbs benumb’d with frost, their arms shat-  
 “ tered and broken and their horses weak and  
 “ foundered. With such horse, and with such foot  
 “ are you to fight. You have only the last remains  
 “ of enemies, and not enemies themselves to engage.  
 “ There is nothing I apprehend more than that  
 “ Hannibal will seem to have been vanquished by  
 “ the Alps, before you came to blows with him.  
 “ But perhaps the Gods have thought it just them-  
 “ selves should begin with and vanquish without  
 “ man’s help, a general and people, guilty of the  
 “ violation of treaties ; and only left to us, who,  
 “ next to the Gods, have been injured, to complete  
 “ the ruin which they have begun and brought so  
 “ near to a conclusion.

CHAP. XLI.   
 “ I NEED not fear that any one will suspect  
 “ me of boasting in this manner merely to encourage  
 “ you, while inwardly I entertain different senti-  
 “ ments. I might have gone into Spain, my pro-  
 “ per province, where I had been before, and with

“ an



“ an army of my own ; where I should have had  
 “ my brother to consult in all my designs, and to  
 “ share in all my dangers ; where I should have had  
 “ Asdrubal not Hannibal to encounter, an enemy  
 “ one would rather chuse to act against ; where I  
 “ should have had a less important war. Yet hear-  
 “ ing, as I passed along the coast of Gaul, of this  
 “ formidable enemy, I landed, sent my cavalry be-  
 “ fore, and pitched my camp upon the Rhone. In a  
 “ skirmish of the horse, with which part of my forces  
 “ it was my fortune to engage, I routed the enemy.  
 “ And because I could not pursue their main body  
 “ of foot, which marched as expeditiously as if they  
 “ had been flying, I returned to my fleet, and, con-  
 “ sidering the large compass of sea and land, with  
 “ all the expedition I was capable of, met him at  
 “ the foot of the Alps. Can then my inclination to  
 “ fight this formidable enemy be questioned, and  
 “ have I stumbled on him unawares, or am I come  
 “ up with him by following close at his heels to  
 “ challenge and provoke him to a battle ? I would  
 “ willingly try, whether the earth all of a sudden has  
 “ produced a new kind of Carthaginians within these  
 “ twenty years ; or whether they be the same who  
 “ fought at the Egates, and who were ransomed out  
 “ of Eryx for eighteen denarii <sup>a</sup> apiece ; whether this  
 “ Hannibal rivals Hercules in his journies, as he  
 “ would be thought ; or be what his father left him,  
 “ a vassal, a tributary, a slave of the Roman people.  
 “ This Hannibal, who, if not driven to despair by  
 “ a consciousness of his cruelty and injustice in the  
 “ affair of Saguntum, would have some regard, if  
 “ not to his conquered country, yet surely to his  
 “ own family, to his father’s memory and the treaty  
 “ written with Hamilcar’s own hand : that Hamil-  
 “ car, who at the command of our consul marched  
 “ out of Eryx with his garison ; who with grief and  
 “ indignation accepted the grievous terms imposed

<sup>a</sup> Eleven shillings and seven pence halfpenny.



CHAP.

XLI.



“ on his countrymen ; who agreed to evacuate Sicily  
 “ and pay a tribute to the Romans. For these rea-  
 “ sons, my fellow soldiers, I would have you fight  
 “ not only with that courage with which you use to  
 “ face other enemies, but with a certain indignation  
 “ and resentment, such as you would feel if you saw  
 “ your slaves on a sudden rise up in arms against  
 “ you. We might, had we so pleased, have starved  
 “ them, the worst of all deaths, when they were in-  
 “ vested at Eryx : we might have passed with our  
 “ victorious fleet into Africa, and in a few days de-  
 “ molished Carthage without striking a blow. But  
 “ we pardoned them at their humble request ; we  
 “ raised the siege, granted them peace when con-  
 “ quered, and at length looked on them as under our  
 “ protection, when they were distressed by a war in  
 “ Afric. In return for these great services, they are  
 “ come, with this hair-brained youth at their head,  
 “ to attack our country. I wish the present war  
 “ concerned our honour not our preservation. But  
 “ the contest is not as formerly for the possession of  
 “ Sicily and Sardinia, but of Italy itself. Neither  
 “ have we another army at our back to stop the  
 “ enemy’s career, in case we are defeated ; nor a  
 “ second Alps, to give us time, while he is passing  
 “ them, to make new levies. No, my fellow sol-  
 “ diers, here we must make our stand as firmly as  
 “ if we were fighting under the walls of Rome.  
 “ Let each of us reflect that he is now to defend,  
 “ not his own person only, but his wife and children.  
 “ Yet let not private care alone engross our minds ;  
 “ let us remember that the eyes of the Roman senate  
 “ and people are upon us ; and that as our vigor  
 “ and bravery shall now prove, such will be the for-  
 “ tune of Rome and her empire.”

CHAP.

XLII.



THUS did the consul harangue his Romans.  
 But the Carthaginian, being of opinion that he ought  
 to encourage his troops by actions before he did it by  
 words, formed his army into a circle, as if to see a  
 show. Then he placed many of the mountaineers,  
 whom



whom he had taken prisoners, in the middle with CHAP. XLII.  
 their fetters on, and throwing at their feet such weapons as the Gauls used in single combats, ordered an interpreter to ask them, if any of them would fight a duel, on condition of obtaining his liberty, arms and a horse, in case he came off victorious. When to a man they eagerly demanded the combat and a sword, and the lots were drawing for that purpose, each of them ardently wished he might be the person, whom fortune pitched on to fight. Accordingly as each man's lot happened to come up, he cheerfully, and exulting with joy amidst his companions, who congratulated his fate, snatched up the weapons dancing after his country fashion. During the time they fought such a disposition of mind shewed itself not only among those unhappy wretches who were in the same circumstances, but in general among the spectators, that those who died bravely were applauded and reckoned as happy as those who were victorious.

WHILE they were thus affected by the sight of CHAP. XLIII.  
 several couple of combatants, he dismissed the rest, and calling his troops together, harangued them thus.  
 “ If, fellow soldiers, in the estimation of your own  
 “ fortune you will bear the same mind that you did  
 “ just now in beholding that of others, in the representation exhibited to you, the victory is our own.  
 “ What you saw just now was not a mere show for  
 “ diversion, but a lively representation of your own  
 “ circumstances. Neither can I determine, whether  
 “ fortune has bound you or your prisoners in the  
 “ stricter chains. You are hem'd in on right and  
 “ left by two seas without a single ship to escape in.  
 “ Before you is the Po, a broader and more rapid  
 “ river than the Rhone; behind you are the Alps,  
 “ which you were scarce able to pass when you  
 “ were entire and in full strength. In this spot, soldiers, you must conquer or die the instant you  
 “ meet the enemy. And the same fortune, that



CHAP.

XLIII.

“ hath laid you under the necessity of fighting, sets  
 “ before you rewards of victory greater than which no  
 “ men are ever wont to pray for from the immortal  
 “ Gods. If by our valor we were only to recover Sicily  
 “ and Sardinia, which were wrested from our fa-  
 “ thers, the reward would be sufficiently considerable.  
 “ But whatever riches the Romans have gained and  
 “ amassed, by so many triumphs, and are now in  
 “ possession of, will be yours, nay, and the owners  
 “ too. Come then, with the help of the Gods take  
 “ arms to possess yourselves of this rich booty. You  
 “ have been long enough employed in driving the  
 “ cattle upon the vast mountains of Lusitania and  
 “ Celtiberia, and have reaped no fruit of so many  
 “ labors and dangers. Now the time is come, that  
 “ your services shall be recompensed with wealth and  
 “ riches, and your labors with great rewards, after  
 “ you have finished so long a march over mountains,  
 “ through rivers, and so many armed nations. For-  
 “ tune has fixed this place to be the utmost limit of  
 “ your toils; here she will crown all your past ser-  
 “ vices with a suitable reward. Do not fancy, be-  
 “ cause the name of a Roman war is sounding, that  
 “ it will be difficult to get the victory; for an ene-  
 “ my, that has been held in great contempt, has  
 “ often fought most bloody battles, and the most  
 “ renowned people and kings been defeated by a  
 “ very small force. Take away this tinsel reputati-  
 “ on of their’s, and in what else can they be com-  
 “ pared to you? For, not to mention your service  
 “ in war for near twenty years past with such bra-  
 “ very and success, you have come, victorious all  
 “ the way, from the pillars of Hercules, from the  
 “ ocean, and utmost bounds of the earth, through  
 “ the most warlike nations of Spain and Gaul, and  
 “ are to engage an army of raw soldiers, who  
 “ this very summer were defeated, vanquished and  
 “ invested by the Gauls; an army unknown to their  
 “ general, and unacquainted with him. Shall I,  
 “ who,



“ who, if not born, was yet brought up in the pa-  
 “ vilion of that most renowned general my father ;  
 “ who have conquered Spain and Gaul, and not on-  
 “ ly the nations of the Alps, but, which is a much  
 “ better ground of boasting, the Alps themselves,  
 “ compare myself to this half-year captain, who hath  
 “ abandoned his proper army ; a general, who I am  
 “ fure, was he this day to be shewn the Carthaginians  
 “ and Romans without their ensigns, could not tell,  
 “ of which army he was consul. Besides, fellow  
 “ soldiers, I am not a little proud of this circum-  
 “ stance, that there is not one of you who has not  
 “ been an eye witness of my exploits in war ; not  
 “ one, of whose valor at the same time I have not  
 “ been spectator so as to be able to point out the  
 “ time and place where you purchased these laurels.  
 “ I, who was your pupil in war before I became  
 “ your general, shall lead you, whom I have a thou-  
 “ sand times praised and rewarded, against enemies  
 “ who are unknown to one another, and mere novices  
 “ in war.

“ ON what side soever I turn my eyes, I behold  
 “ all full of courage and vigor ; a veteran infantry,  
 “ cavalry composed of the most noble nations, both  
 “ Spaniards<sup>a</sup> and Numidians<sup>b</sup>, you my most faith-  
 “ ful and brave allies, you Carthaginians ready to  
 “ fight as well through a just resentment of injuries,  
 “ as love of your native country. We have been  
 “ the aggressors, we have come down into Italy with  
 “ hostile colors flying ; it becomes us therefore to fight  
 “ with greater bravery and resolution by how much  
 “ the hopes and courage of assailants is greater than  
 “ of those who act upon the defensive. Grief, inju-  
 “ ries, indignity, fire our minds and spur us on to  
 “ revenge. In the first place they demanded that  
 “ I your general, and next all you who fought at  
 “ the siege of Saguntum, should be delivered up to

<sup>a</sup> Frænatos. The Spanish horse were always bridled and accoutred in action.

<sup>b</sup> The Numidian horse used neither bridle nor saddle, *infrænati*, but were like the modern Hussars.



CHAP.

XLIV.



“punishment. Had they got us in their clutches,  
 “we were to be put to death by the extremest tor-  
 “tures. This intolerably haughty and cruel people  
 “would have every thing their own, and at their  
 “disposal. They think they have a right to prescribe  
 “to us with whom we shall make war, with whom  
 “we shall have peace. They limit and restrict us  
 “within hills and rivers, over which we are not to  
 “pass at our peril. And yet they do not observe  
 “the limits, which they themselves have fixed.  
 “Pass not the Ebro. Touch not the Saguntines:  
 “Saguntum lyes upon the Ebro<sup>d</sup>; approach not  
 “one step towards it. You, Romans, reckon it a  
 “trifle to have deprived us of our immemorial pos-  
 “sessions, Sicily and Sardinia. Will you take Spain  
 “too? If we cede that, you will pass into Afric.  
 “Will pass, did I say? They have, Carthaginians,  
 “sent one of <sup>their</sup> your consuls for the present year into  
 “Afric, the other into Spain. We have nothing  
 “left but what we can vindicate with our swords.  
 “Those may behave like cowards and dastards, who  
 “can fly for refuge, by safe and unmolested routs,  
 “into their own lands and territories. As for you,  
 “there is an absolute necessity for your behaving like  
 “brave men, as you have no other sure dependence  
 “for life, or a medium between victory and death.  
 “You must therefore either conquer, or, if fortune  
 “denies you that, meet death rather in battle than  
 “in flight. If this is the firm purpose and fixed  
 “resolution of you all, I once more pronounce the  
 “victory yours. The immortal Gods sure never gave  
 “mankind a more cogent argument to fight for  
 “victory.”

CHAP.

XLV.



AFTER the minds of both armies were animated  
 for battle by these warm exhortations, the Romans  
 laid a bridge cross the Ticin, and erected a fort on  
 it to defend it. While they were busily employed in

<sup>c</sup> Does not this contradict what Afrubal?  
 was said before, that the Saguntines  
 were included in the treaty made with

<sup>d</sup> It did not, and that is only said  
 to exasperate the hearers.



this work, the Carthaginian detached Maherbal with 500 Numidian horse to ravage the lands of the Roman allies. He ordered him as much as possible to spare those of the Gauls, and solicit their chiefs to revolt. When the bridge was finished, the Roman army crossed into the territories of the Insubrians, and encamped five miles from Vicumviæ<sup>a</sup>. There Hannibal was encamped. As soon as he perceived an action unavoidable, he with all expedition recalled Maherbal with his detachment. And imagining he could never say enough to admonish and encourage his soldiers, he assembled them, and faithfully promised them certain rewards to encourage them to fight. “ He would give every one of them lands in property to themselves and children, either in Italy, Africa or Spain, as they should chuse. To such as preferred money to land, he would give an equivalent in specie. He would grant the freedom of Carthage to all the allies who desired it. Those who chose to return home, he would take care so to enrich, that they should not desire to exchange circumstances with any of their countrymen. He would give the slaves who had followed their masters their liberty, and give their masters two slaves in lieu of each.” And that they might depend on his faithfully performing these things, taking a lamb in his left hand and a flint in his right, he prayed, “ that if he failed, Jupiter and the rest of the Gods might kill him in like manner as he killed the lamb.” After this prayer he broke the skull of the beast with the stone. Then they all, as if the Gods had become sureties for these promises, and imagining, that the only bar to their enjoying what they hoped for was their not fighting, with one heart and voice demanded to be led on to battle.

THE RE was far from such alacrity among the Romans. Besides other things they were terrified by prodigies that had lately happened. For a wolf had entered their camp, torn to pieces those it met, and

CHAP.  
XLV.CHAP.  
XLVI.<sup>a</sup> *Dimoli* between the *Ticin* and *Novara*.



CHAP.

XLVI.

escaped safe : a swarm of bees had settled on a tree that shaded the general's tent. Scipio, having offered the usual sacrifices to expiate them, set out towards the enemy's camp with his cavalry and light-armed dartmen, to view their number and quality. Hannibal, who had likewise gone out to reconnoitre the circumjacent places, met him with his horse. Neither of them perceived the other at first, till the thick cloud of dust, raised by the march of such numbers of men and horses, gave notice of the enemy's approach. Both detachments halted and prepared for action. Scipio posted his dartmen and Gallic horse in the front, and the Romans and stoutest of the allies to support them. The Carthaginian placed his Spanish horse bridled and equipp'd in the centre, and the Numidians in the wings to support them. The shout was hardly set up when the Roman dartmen retreated through the intervals to the second line. Then the battle between the horse was for some time sustained with equal vigor. At length, when the cavalry was disordered by the foot intermixed with them, many fell from their horses and many dismounted, where they saw their own men surrounded and in danger, so that the battle was chiefly fought on foot. At last the Numidians, on the wings, wheeled and appeared in the rear of the Romans. This threw them into a terrible consternation, and their panic was increased by the consul's being wounded, though he was rescued from danger by the interposition of his son, who was but a stripling. It was this youth who had the glory of terminating this war, and who got the surname of Africanus for his signal victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But the dartmen, whom the Numidians attacked first, were almost the only men that fled in confusion. The rest of the cavalry kept firm together, and taking the consul into the middle of them, defended him not only with their arms but bodies, and carried him back to the camp in good order and without the least consternation. Cælius gives a Ligurian slave the honor



honor of saving the consul. But I chuse rather to believe it was his son, both because I have the authority of the greatest number of authors, and because it has obtained the sanction of tradition.

SUCH was the first battle fought with Hannibal, CHAP. wherein the superiority of his cavalry plainly appear- XLVII. ed, and for that reason the plains, between the Alps and the Po, were the most improper place for the Romans to act on. Wherefore the consul having ordered his troops the ensuing night to pack up their baggage, decamped secretly from the Ticin, and marched with great expedition to the Po, that, while the bridge of boats, which he had laid cross the river <sup>a</sup>, was entire, he might transport his troops without confusion, or being pursued by the enemy. He had got as far as Placentia <sup>b</sup>, before Hannibal got certain information of his being decamped from the Ticin. Yet the Carthaginian came up in time to take 600 men on his side of the river, who had dallied in breaking down the bridge. Yet he could not pass it, because, being loosened at both ends, the whole floated down the stream. The historian Cœlius says, that Mago immediately swam over with the cavalry and Spanish foot, and that Hannibal, with the main body, forded it higher up, having drawn up his elephants in a line extending quite cross to break the force of the current. But they who are acquainted with that river, will scarce believe this. For though the Spaniards might swim cross on their bottles full of wind, yet it is not very probable, that the cavalry, encumbered with their arms and horses, could get over so rapid a river: besides, it would have taken up many days march along the Po, ere they could have found fords sufficient for so great an army, loaded with baggage, to have passed. I rather credit those authors, who say, it was two days before they could find a fit place to

<sup>a</sup> *Ticin* must be meant here.

<sup>b</sup> Some mistake must have crept in here. For *Placentia* stood on the

east side of the river, not the west, as it must have done according to our text.



CHAP. XLVII. lay a bridge of boats over, by which Mago was detached before with the Spanish light horse. While the heavy armed troops were passing, Hannibal gave audience on this side of the river to the ambassadors of the Gauls. In the mean time Mago advanced one day's march towards the enemy at Placentia. In a few days after Hannibal encamped within six miles of that place, and next day drawing up his men in fight of the enemy offered them battle.

CHAP. XLVIII. NEXT night some Romans were slaughtered in their camp. But the confusion and alarm was greater than their real loss. Certain Gauls, to the number of 2000 foot and 200 horse, who served the Romans as auxiliaries, killed the guards at the gates, and deserted to Hannibal. The Carthaginian received them very kindly, and having buoyed them up with the hopes of great rewards, sent them to their respective cities, to engage their countrymen to his interest. Scipio looked on the desertion of this corps as the prelude to a general revolt of the Gauls, who, now the infection had seized them, would run to arms like madmen. Therefore, notwithstanding he was still bad of his wound, he set out secretly at the fourth watch next night, towards the river Trebia<sup>a</sup>. Here he encamped on the eminences, which horse could not so easily approach. However, this retreat was not so secret as that from the Ticin. The Carthaginian, having first detached his Numidians, and then his whole cavalry, after the consul, would infallibly have harassed his rear very much, had not the Numidians, through avidity of plunder, turned aside to the camp, which the Romans had abandoned. While they rummaged every corner in the camp, without finding any thing to make them amends for the time they had lost, the enemy escaped out of their hands; and when they saw the Romans had already passed the Trebia, and were pitching their camp, they killed a few stragglers whom they inter-

<sup>a</sup> It's modern name is *La Trebbia*. into the *Po*, near *Placentia*. It rises in the *Apennines*, and falls



cepted on the same side with them. Scipio, no longer able to endure the pain, which, by the agitation of the march, his wound gave him, and believing it necessary to wait for his colleague, who he heard was recalled from Sicily, pitched on the ground near the river, as it seemed the safest for a standing camp, to intrench himself on. The Carthaginian encamped not far from the same place. If his victory in his rencounter with the Roman cavalry gave him joy, the scarcity which daily increased in his army, being obliged to march through an enemy's country without having provisions prepared on the rout, gave him no less disquiet. For this reason he sent a detachment to the village of Clastidium<sup>b</sup>, where the Romans had formed a great magazine of corn. As they were preparing to attack it by force, they had some hopes given them of having it betrayed to them. And indeed it cost them no great sum. The governor of it, Dasius of Brundisium, corrupted by 400 pieces of gold, delivered it to the Carthaginian. This served them for a magazine while they lay at Trebia. The prisoners, who were taken by betraying the garison, Hannibal treated very favorably, in order to give an impression of his clemency in the beginning of the war.

WHILST the war by land at Trebia remained in this state, several memorable transactions about Sicily and the islands lying near Italy, were performed, both before and after the consul Sempronius's arrival there. Of 20 quinqueremes, with a 1000 soldiers on board each, which the Carthaginians sent to ravage the coasts of Italy, nine arrived at Lipara<sup>a</sup>, eight at the island of Vulcan<sup>b</sup>, and three were driven by stress of weather into the streights of Sicily. On their appearing, king Hiero, who happened then to be at Messina expecting the Roman consul, sent out twelve gallies, which took them without resistance, and carried them into that port. The prison-

<sup>b</sup> *Chiafeggio*, near the *Po*.<sup>b</sup> One of the *Æolian* islands.<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 278, 357.



CHAP. XLIX. ers informed him, that besides the fleet of twenty ships, intended for Italy, and to which they belonged, another of thirty-five quinqueremes was sailing for Sicily, in order to solicit the ancient allies of the Carthaginians to revolt. They imagined their principal design was to surprize Lilybæum; but the same storm which had dispersed them, had driven that fleet to the islands Ægates. Whenever the king heard this, he dispatched an express from Messina with advice of it to the prætor M. Æmilius, then governor of Sicily, and advised him to throw a strong garison into Lilybæum. Upon this the prætor sent the lieutenant generals and legionary tribunes to keep the garisons of the circumjacent towns in readiness; but in particular to hold Lilybæum prepared against an attack. At the same time he issued an order, that the mariners should bring ten days provisions, ready dressed, to their respective ships, and be ready to embark the instant the signal for that purpose should be given; and that the inhabitants along all the coasts should keep a good look out, from their watch towers, to discover when the enemy appeared. In consequence, though the Carthaginians industriously slackened their course, that they might be up with Lilybæum just before day, yet they were descried by the brightness of the moon, and coming with their sheets flying. Immediately the signal was made from the beacons, the alarm given in the city, and all the fleet manned. Part of the troops were posted on the walls, and at the gates, and part embarked on board the ships. When they perceived the place was prepared to receive them, they lay in the offing till day-break, being employed all that time in furling their sails, and making ready for an attack. As soon as day appeared, they stood out again to sea, that they might have room to fight, and to give the enemy liberty to come out of port. Neither did the Romans decline a battle, encouraged with the remembrance of the success they formerly had in the same place, and confiding in the number and bravery of their troops.

AS



AS soon as the two fleets were got out to sea, the Romans shewed the greatest ardor to come to close engagement, and to fight yard-arm to yard-arm. But the Carthaginians avoided that, and chose rather to use stratagem than force, relying more on the agility of their ships, than on the courage of their troops. They had indeed a greater number of hands to work them, but few to fight ; and when they were clapped on board, there appeared only a small number of soldiers to defend them. As soon as this difference was perceived, their numbers augmented the courage of the Romans, while the reverse diminished that of the enemy. Seven of their ships were immediately surrounded, and the rest fled. The number of prisoners, including both mariners and soldiers, in those that were taken, amounted to 1700, amongst whom were three men of quality. The Roman fleet sustained no other damage, than one vessel's having been bulged, and even she was brought back to port with the rest. About the time of this engagement, and before the news of it reached Messina, the consul Ti. Sempronius arrived there. As soon as he entered the streight, king Hiero went out to meet him with a fleet splendidly equipped ; and passing out of his own galley on board the consul's, congratulated him on his safe arrival with his fleet and army, praying that this expedition into Sicily might be crowned with success. Then he informed him “ of the state of the  
“ island, and the Carthaginians designs upon it :  
“ he assured him likewise, that now in his old age  
“ he would assist the Romans with the same good  
“ will and resolution that he had done in his youth  
“ during the former Punic war. He would furnish  
“ his legions and sailors with provisions and clothes  
“ gratis. Further, he informed him of the danger Li-  
“ lybæum and the other maritime cities were in, and  
“ that some were strongly inclined to a revolution.” This advice induced the consul to sail directly to Lilybæum, whither the king with his fleet accompanied him. But while they were at sea, they received  
accounts



accounts of the battle at Lilybæum, and that the enemy's fleet had fled after several of their ships had been taken.

## CHAP.

LI.



THE consul having dismissed Hiero and his fleet, and left the prætor to guard the coast of Sicily, set sail for the island of Malta, which was then in possession of the Carthaginians. At his arrival, Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, who commanded the garison, delivered up the town and island with near 2000 prisoners. Within a few days Sempronius returned to Lilybæum, where he and the prætor sold all the prisoners, except those of distinction. Thus, seeing Sicily was safe enough on that side, he set sail for the isle of Vulcan, where it was reported the Punic fleet lay. But he did not meet with the enemy there. They had luckily failed to ravage the coast of Italy, where they alarmed the city of Vibo, and pillaged it's lands. On his return to Sicily he received advice of the enemy's descent on Vibo, and letters from the senate, informing him of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, and ordering him with the utmost expedition to fly to his colleague's relief. Perplexed with so many cares he embarked his troops immediately, and detached them for Ariminum on the Adriatic sea. He sent Sex. Pomponius his lieutenant with twenty-five gallies to protect Vibo and the sea-coast of Italy. He left M. Æmilius a fleet of fifty men of war complete. As for himself, after putting Sicily in this posture of defence, he coasted along Italy, and landed at Ariminum. From hence he set out with his army, and joined his colleague at the river Trebia.

## CHAP.

LII.



NOW as both consuls and the whole force of the Roman empire opposed Hannibal, it was sufficiently evident, that if the commonwealth could not be defended with those forces, they had nothing else to rely on. Yet one of the consuls, dispirited by the defeat of his cavalry, and the pain of his wound, was for avoiding a battle. But the other, who had but lately arrived, and on that account had more spirit, would



would not hear of a delay. The Gauls, who then CHAP.  
inhabited the country between the Po and Trebia, re- LII.  
mained neuter in this contest between those powerful  
nations, no doubt with a view to join the conquerors.  
The Romans, not to raise themselves new enemies,  
were very well satisfied with this neutrality: but the  
Carthaginian highly resented it, affirming, he had  
been sent for by the Gauls to set them free. To gra-  
tify this passion, and at the same time subsist his  
troops on the plunder, he ordered a detachment of  
2000 foot, and 1000 horse, mostly Numidians, with  
a few Gauls amongst them, to ravage all the country  
as far as the banks of the Po. The Gauls, standing  
in need of help, after having till this time observed  
an exact neutrality, were obliged to turn from those  
who injured them, to such as would defend them.  
They sent an embassy to the consul, to solicit relief to  
their country, which was harassed on account of its  
inhabitants too faithful attachment to the Roman in-  
terest. Cornelius, who shrewdly suspected that peo-  
ple, on account of many treacherous actions, and,  
to pass by all former ones, especially for the late per-  
fidy of the Boii, thought this neither cause suffici-  
ent, nor a proper opportunity, to take such a step.  
On the other hand, Sempronius thought the surest tie  
to retain their allies faithful to them, was to defend  
those who first needed help. And, notwithstanding  
his colleague's remonstrances, he sent out his own ca-  
valry, and 1000 foot, for the most part dartmen, mix-  
ed with them, to protect the lands of the Gauls on  
the other side of the Trebia. This detachment having  
surprized the enemy, while they were dispersed in  
disorder, and the greatest part of them encumbered  
with plunder, drove them in great consternation,  
and with great slaughter even to their entrenchments.  
But great numbers rallying to support them, they re-  
newed the charge. Then the battle remained for  
some time doubtful, and, at last, they parted on e-  
qual terms, though report gave the victory to the  
Romans, rather than to the Carthaginians.

BUT



CHAP.

LIII.

BUT no body reckoned the victory more real, or boasted more of it, than Sempronius, who was elated with the thoughts of having conquered with that part of his forces, which were defeated under his colleague. He insisted, “ the troops were now sufficiently recruited and refreshed ; that every body desired a battle except Scipio, whose courage being more weakened than his body, could not bear the mention of arms or blows, when he reflected on his wound. But it was not reasonable, that every person should grow decrepid with him. What reason could he have to spin out and lose time? Did he expect a third consul, a third army? The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy, almost in view of Rome. They were not endeavoring to drive the Romans out of Sicily and Sardinia, which they had conquered and taken from that people, nor to possess themselves of Spain beyond the Ebro, but to beat them out of their native country, and the soil in which they were born. What grief, cried he, would it give our ancestors, who were wont to fight round the walls of Rome, to see us their progeny, two consuls and two consular armies, trembling within our camp in the heart of Italy! and that the Carthaginian had subjected all the country between the Alps and Apennines?” In this manner he talked in presence of the wounded consul, and in the head quarters, as if he had been haranguing in public. The comitia, which approached, spurred him on, lest new consuls should be sent to command, and, while his colleague was sick, he should lose the opportunity of gaining all the glory to himself. Therefore in spite of Cornelius’s remonstrances, he ordered his troops to hold themselves in readiness for a battle. Hannibal saw clearly what was most for the enemy’s advantage, and had little hopes that the consuls would undertake any thing rashly, and without precaution. But when he understood, at first by report, which was afterwards confirmed by

ex-



experience, that one of them was naturally fiery and impetuous, and was persuaded that his ardor was increased by his late success in the skirmish with his foragers, he did not despair of soon finding a favorable opportunity of coming to a decisive action. He was besides extremely attentive and solicitous not to suffer the lucky minute to slip, before the raw troops of the enemy were sufficiently disciplined, while the ablest of the consuls was by his wound prevented from acting, and while the hopes of the Gauls, the greatest part of whom he was sensible would follow with the greater reluctance the farther they were led from home, were kept alive. Hoping, for these and reasons of the like nature, there would soon be blows, desirous also to bring on a battle if the Romans lay quiet, and having been informed by his spies, whom he thought safest to chuse out of the Gauls, as some of that nation served in each army, that the Romans were ready for battle, he began to search out a place proper for an ambuscade.

IN the middle between the two camps run a rivulet, whose banks on both sides were pretty high, and overgrown with sedges and other weeds common in uncultivated places, bushes and brambles. He examined this ground in person, and found it close enough even to conceal cavalry. Then he said to his brother Mago, “in this spot you shall post yourself. Chuse out a 100 horse and 100 foot, of the bravest men in the army, and come with them to me at the first watch. In the mean time refresh yourselves.” Then the general’s levy was dismissed, and Mago was presently ready with his chosen troops. Then Hannibal said, “I see you are all stout fellows, but that you may be as strong in number as courage, chuse each of you nine like yourselves out of the corps to which you belong. Mago will shew you the place, where you shall lye in ambush. Your enemies are quite unexperienced in these arts.” When he had dispatched Mago with 1000 horse and as many



CHAP. LIV. foot, at day-break he sent his Numidian horse over the Trebia, with orders to ride up to the gates of the enemy's camp, and by throwing their lances into their posts, to draw them out to a battle; and in skirmishing retire by degrees, and repass the river. These were the orders he gave the Numidians, while he commanded the other generals of horse and foot to order their troops to go to breakfast, and then to wait the signal ready armed and mounted. Sempronius, eager to fight upon the alarm raised by the Numidians, relying chiefly on his cavalry, drew them out first, then 6000 foot, and at length all his forces, to the ground they had before appointed in a council of war. It was yet winter, snowed in the places between the Alps and Apennines, and the coldness of the weather was increased by the proximity of lakes and rivers. As his men and horse were hastily drawn out, before they had eaten any thing to sustain them against the cold, they had no heat in them, and the nearer they approached the vapory river, the chilling air pierced them with the greater ease. But having in pursuit of the Numidians, who retreated, entered the river, which by the rain in the night had risen breast high, their bodies were so stiff and benumbed when they came out, that they could scarce hold their arms, and as they had fasted till the day was far advanced, they fainted for hunger.

CHAP. LV. HANNIBAL's troops, having had fires kindled before their tents, oil distributed to each company to supple their joints, and at their ease taken a good repast, as soon as they got notice, that the enemy had passed the river, with minds and bodies in chearful plight, they took their arms, and marched out to battle. The Carthaginian posted the slingers and lighted armed troops, about 8000 in number, in front; in a second line his heavy armed infantry, the flower and main strength of his army; and in the two wings his horse, amounting to 10000. The points of his infantry he strengthened with the elephants, an equal number of which he posted on right and



and left. The consul, seeing his horse, who were pursuing the fugitives, unexpectedly charged by the Numidians, who suddenly faced about, sounded a retreat. When they joined him, he posted them on the wings of his foot. He had with him 22000 Romans, 20000 allies and Latines, besides the auxiliary Cenomanians, the only nation of the Gauls that continued faithful to them. These were the numbers that engaged on the Roman side. The battle was begun by the slingers; but they being too vigorously charged by the Roman legions, all the light armed troops were quickly drawn off to the wings. By this means the Roman cavalry were pushed in an instant. For as they of themselves were not a match for the enemy, being but 4000 to 10000, and wearied, while the others were fresh and vigorous, they were buried in a cloud of darts and missile weapons thrown by the Baleares. Besides, the elephants, appearing on the extremities of the two wings, every where put to flight the Roman horse, which were terrified not only at the sight of them, but at their uncommon smell. The infantry on both sides fought with equal courage, but not with equal strength. For the Carthaginians had been brought into the field with their bodies newly refreshed to engage the Romans, who were hungry, fatigued, and benumbed with cold. Yet the latter would have got the better by their courage, if they had had only the foot to deal with. But the slingers, after having routed the horse, charged them in flank, and the elephants attacked their center. Besides, Mago and the Numidians, as soon as the Roman army had passed by the place of their ambuscade, attacked their rear, and put them into great confusion and consternation. Notwithstanding the main body was so hard put to it on every side, yet it stood firm for some time, and in particular, beyond all expectation, against the elephants. For their light horse, which were posted for the purpose, plied them so hard with their spears, that they made them turn their backs, and then prick-



## CHAP.

LVI.

ed them under the tails, where, by reason of the thinness of the skin, they are most easily wounded.

HANNIBAL, perceiving that those beasts were frightened, and in their consternation like to run from the centre upon his own flanks, ordered them to be driven to the left wing to oppose the auxiliary Gauls. These troops were immediately put to the rout. The sight of their auxiliaries' defeat added greatly to the terror the Romans were in before. But when they saw themselves surrounded, and that they could not escape another way, near 10000 broke through the main body of the Africans, which was supported by the Gauls, with great slaughter of the enemy. And seeing their retreat to their camp cut off by the river, which lay between, and that they could not by reason of the rain see where to aid their own men, they marched straight to Placentia. Then many corps opened themselves a passage on all sides. Those who took their rout to the river were either drowned, or cut to pieces by the enemy, while they hovered on the banks. Such as were in the flight dispersed through the fields, followed the track of the 10000 to Placentia. Some, whom fear of the enemy forced to enter the river, got over and reached the camp. Abundance of men, cattle and elephants perished by the rain, snow, and severity of the cold. The Carthaginians pursued the enemy no farther than the river Trebia, and returned to their camp so benumbed with cold, that they were scarce able to express any joy for their victory. For this reason, when those who had been left in the Roman camp, and a great number who escaped from the battle, passed the Trebia in boats next night, the Carthaginians did not perceive them, through the noise of the rain; or, because they were not able to stir for fatigue and wounds, they feigned not to perceive them. Thus while the enemy lay quiet, Scipio secretly marched his troops to Placentia. From thence he passed the Po, and went to Cremona, that one colony might not be oppressed by two armies wintering there.

THE



THE news of this defeat occasioned so much terror at Rome, that the people believed the enemy was advancing to the city with colours flying, nor did they hope, by any means, to be able to defend their gates and walls. “ When one consul, said they, “ was defeated at the Ticin, they had sent for another from Sicily. But since two consuls and two consular armies were defeated, what other leaders, what other legions had they to oppose the enemy?” As they were in this consternation, the consul Sempronius arrived, having with great danger escaped the enemy’s horse, which were dispersed every where plundering. It was more through foolhardiness than wise conduct, or any hope he had of missing them, or being able to defend himself if he had met with them, that he undertook such a journey. After he had held the comitia for the election of consuls, the thing that was most wanted in their present situation, he returned to his winter quarters. The new consuls were Cn. Servilius, and C. Flaminius. But the Romans were not even unmolested in their winter quarters; for the Numidian horse ranged about every where, and where they could not come, they were harassed by Celtiberians and Lusitanians. Thus all means of conveying provisions were cut off, except bringing them in boats up the Po. Near Placentia was their magazine strongly fortified and garisoned. Hannibal set out with his cavalry and light armed troops, in hopes of taking this strong place. Placing all his hopes of success in concealing his design, he advanced to surprize it by night, but was discovered by the sentinels, and so loud an alarm was given, that it was heard at Placentia. Upon this the consul, as soon as it was day, came down with his horse, leaving orders for the foot to follow in order of battle. Before the latter came up, the cavalry were engaged. Hannibal, by reason of a wound he received, was obliged to retire, while his men were frightened, and the garison bravely defended. After he had rested some days,

Cn. Servilius, C. Flaminius, consuls.  
V. G. R. 535.  
B. J. C. 217.



CHAP.

LVII.



and before his wound was thoroughly cured, he marched to attack Victumviæ. The Romans had fortified this place in the war with the Gauls and made it a magazine. After that people from all the neighboring nations came and inhabited it, and at that time in particular the fear of being plundered had made most of the peasants fly thither for shelter. This multitude, such as they were, excited by the report of the brave defence made by the garison at Placentia, ran to arms and went out to meet Hannibal, but marched along rather like a rabble than a regular army in order of battle. Thus as on one side there was only a tumultuous mob, and on the other a general on whom his troops relied, and he on them, near 35000 were routed by a handful of men. Next day the town surrendered, and received a Carthaginian garison. But they had no sooner obeyed the command to deliver up their arms, than a signal was suddenly given to the conquerors, to sack the city as if it had been taken by storm. No kind of outrage, which, in such cases, historians count worth recording, were omitted, such instances of lust, barbarity and inhuman insolence did they practise on these wretched inhabitants. These were Hannibal's expeditions during the winter.

CHAP.

LVIII.



NOT long after he allowed his troops some rest, as the cold was intolerable. But upon the first approach of spring he quitted his winter quarters and marched into Hetruria, with a view to make that nation either voluntarily or by force join him as he had done the Gauls and Ligurians. In passing the Apennines he met with so violent a storm, that it exceeded almost the terrible calamities which he encountered on the Alps. A terrible rain and wind beat full in their faces. At first they stood still, because they must either have thrown away their arms, or by striving against the hurricane, been whirled round and sorely annoyed. Then as the violence of the storm stopped their lungs from play, and would not suffer them to breathe, they turned their  
backs



backs to it and sat down a little. But after that it thundered dreadfully with terrible lightning between the claps. This deprived them both of their hearing and eyesight, and struck them into a panic. At length the rain dispersed, but the wind grew stronger, so that it was thought necessary to encamp on the very place. But this begun their labor afresh. For it was impossible either to spread the canvas or fix the poles of their tents. What they got fixed could not resist the fury of the winds which rent and carried them quite away. Within a while, the rain, which was rarified by the wind and carried up above the tops of these bleak mountains congealed, and fell down in so great showers of snow and hail, that laying aside every other concern, they fell flat on their faces, rather overwhelmed than defended by their coverings. Such a severe frost ensued, that not one of that miserable crowd of men and cattle could for a long time rise or help himself when he had a mind; for their nerves were so benumbed with the bitter cold, that they could not bend their joints. But at length, when in effect of their struggling they began to move and recover their spirits, and to light fires in a few places, those who could not help themselves had recourse to the assistance of others. In this place were they penned up for two days as close as if besieged. Abundance of men and cattle perished, and likewise seven of the elephants that survived the battle of the Trebia.

THE Carthaginian having quitted the Apennines took the rout to Placentia, and after having marched ten miles encamped. Next day he led 12000 foot and 5000 horse against the enemy. The consul Sempronius, who was by this time returned from Rome, did not decline a battle. That day the two armies were within three miles of each other. The next they engaged with great ardor, and various success. In the first charge the Romans had so much the advantage, that they not only beat the enemy out of the field, but pursued them to their camp, which they



CHAP.  
LIX.

immediately attacked. Here Hannibal, having posted some few to guard the lines and gates, drew up the rest in close order in the middle of the camp, with orders attentively to watch the signal for falling. It was now almost three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Romans, having in vain fatigued their troops, and despairing of making themselves masters of the enemies camp, founded a retreat. As soon as the Carthaginian heard this, and saw the attack relax and the enemy retire, he sent his horse out at the right and left, and sallied himself with all his infantry out at the middle of the camp, to attack them. Had they had day light sufficient to have fought it out, there never had been a fiercer battle, or one more memorable for the loss on both sides. But night parted them amidst their ardor for fighting. Thus the charge was hotter than the slaughter great, and as the battle was fought with equal bravery on both sides, so they retired with equal loss. On neither side did there fall above 600 foot and half that number of horse. But the quality of the Romans loss exceeded the number; for they had several knights, five legionary tribunes, and three captains of the allies killed. After this battle the Carthaginian went into Liguria and Sempronius to Lucca<sup>a</sup>. On Hannibal's arrival in that country, two Roman questors, C. Fulvius and L. Lucretius, two legionary tribunes and five knights, whose fathers were senators, and who had been treacherously intercepted, were delivered up to him. The Ligurians did this to convince the Carthaginian that they would inviolably keep the treaty they had made with him.

CHAP.  
LX.

WHILE these things passed in Italy, Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who was commissioned for Spain with an army and fleet, set sail from the mouth of the Rhone, and coasting along the Pyrenean mountains, arrived at Emporise<sup>b</sup>. There he landed his army, and beginning with the Lacetani, he reduced all the

<sup>a</sup> It stood on the frontiers of *Liguria* and *Historia*, near the *Serbio*.

<sup>b</sup> *Empurias*, in *Catalonia*.



cities on the coast as far as the Ebro, to the Romans, **CHAP.**  
either by renewing former treaties or making new **LX.**  
ones. Hence the fame of his clemency spread abroad  
and had great influence not only with the people on  
the coast, but on the more savage nations up the  
country and in the mountains. So that he not only  
made peace with them, but engaged them to take  
arms in conjunction with him, and from amongst  
them he levied several strong corps of auxiliaries.  
Hanno, whom Hannibal had left to defend that  
country, was then on this side the Ebro. Wherefore  
thinking it advisable to meet Scipio, before the whole  
country was alienated from the Carthaginians; he en-  
camped within sight of the enemy, and led out his  
troops in order of battle. The Roman thought it  
best to accept the offer, and in as much as he was  
sensible he could not avoid having both Asdrubal and  
Hanno to deal with, he chose rather to fight them  
separately, than have to do with them both at once.  
The victory was not long disputed, 6000 Carthagi-  
nians were killed, 2000 made prisoners with those  
that had been left to guard the camp. For their  
camp was taken, and the general himself with some  
of his principal officers. Scissis<sup>a</sup>, a city in the neigh-  
borhood of the camp, was likewise taken by storm.  
However the plunder of it was but of very little va-  
lue, as it consisted of paltry furniture and mean  
slaves. It was the booty found in the camp that en-  
riched the soldiers, as in it were all the valuable  
effects, not only of the army presently defeated, but  
of that which was fighting in Italy under Hannibal,  
who, not to be encumbered with heavy baggage on  
their march, had left it all on the other side of the  
Pyrenees.

**ASDRUBAL** had past the Ebro with 8000 foot **CHAP.**  
and 1000 horse with a design to oppose the Romans at **LXI.**  
their arrival, before any certain intelligence of this  
misfortune could arrive. But when he heard of the  
defeat and loss of the camp at Scissis, he turned to-

<sup>a</sup> No traces of it remain.



CHAP.

LXI.

wards the sea. Near Tarraco<sup>a</sup> he found the marines and sailors of Scipio's fleet, dispersed and wandering through the fields, as it commonly happens, that success gives birth to negligence; and having detached his cavalry every where against them, he cut off a great number of them, and drove the rest to their ships. But not daring to stay longer in those parts, for fear of being surprized by Scipio, he retired to the other side of the Ebro. The Roman likewise, upon intelligence of this new enemy, suddenly marched his army thither, and chastised some of the sea captains. Then leaving a small garison at Tarraco, he returned with his fleet to Emporiæ. He had scarce left his quarters when Asdrubal supplied his place, and having excited the Illergetes, who had given hostages to Scipio, to revolt, they with their own youth laid waste the lands of those who continued faithful to the Romans. But on Scipio's being roused out of his winter quarters, Asdrubal again quitted the whole country on this side the Ebro. The Roman, having with an hostile army invaded the region which was abandoned by the author of their revolt, and driven them all into Athanagia<sup>b</sup>, their capital, invested it. Within a few days he reduced the Illergetes, demanded a greater number of hostages than before, and fined them in a considerable sum of money. Then he marched against the Aufetani, who were likewise allies of the Carthaginians, and having invested their city, intercepted not far from the town the Lacetani, who had come by night to succor their neighbors, just as they were on the point of entering the place. 12000 of them were slain, and all the rest, flinging down their arms, dispersed through the fields and fled to their own houses. Nothing saved the besieged but the severity of the winter, which greatly annoyed the besiegers. The siege lasted thirty days, in all which time the snow was seldom less than four foot

<sup>a</sup> *Tarragon in Catalonia.**Tarrega, Sanbuian, Cardonne, and Lerida.*<sup>b</sup> Some authors say it was the same with the modern *Mauresa*. Other,

thick,



thick, and so covered the penthouses and galleries of the Romans, that they had no other defence against the fire which the enemy several times threw upon them. At last the enemy, after their prince Amusius fled to Asdrubal, surrendered, and stipulated to pay twenty talents of silver. Then Scipio returned to winter at Tarraco.

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DURING that winter many prodigies happened at Rome or about it. At least, which is very common when superstition has taken possession of men's minds, many were reported to have been seen and credit very lightly given to these reports<sup>a</sup>. Among these it was said, “ that a child of free condition, “ and only half a year old, had called out in the “ herb market *IO TRIUMPHE*. In the cattle market, “ an ox of his own accord had got up to the third “ story of a house, and being frightened with the “ tumult and noise of the inhabitants threw himself “ down. A phænomenon was seen in the heavens “ resembling a fleet. The temple of Hope, which “ stood in the herb market, was struck with lightening. At Lanuvium a spear had brandished of it self, and a raven flew into the temple of Juno and perched upon her shrine. In the territory of Amitemnum<sup>b</sup>, the figures of many men dressed in white appeared, but never would approach any person. In Picenum it rained stones. At Cære the lots appeared smaller, and in Gaul a wolf drew a sentinel's sword out of the scabbard and carried it away.” For all these and other prodigies the decemvirs were ordered to consult the Sybil's books. But to expiate the raining of stones in Picenum, a festival was appointed for nine days, and the whole city almost was employed in expiations for the rest. First of all, the city was purified, the greater sacrifices offered to those Gods in whose honor they had been appointed by the decemvirs, and a present of forty pound weight of gold sent to Juno at Lanuvium. The ladies dedicated a brazen image to

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LXII.

<sup>a</sup> Is this the reflection of a credulous superstitious writer?    <sup>b</sup> *Pescara*.



CHAP. LXII. Juno on the Aventine hill. At Cære, where the lots had appeared smaller a lectisternium was ordered to be spread, and a supplication made to Fortune in Algidus. At Rome likewise a lectisternium was spread to the Goddess Youth, a procession made to the temple of Hercules, all the people severally ordered to go round the whole shrines in the city, and five large victims sacrificed to Genius. Besides the prætor C. Atilius Serranus was ordered to make a solemn vow in honor of the Gods in case the state should remain in the same situation for ten years. These expiations and vows, which were made according to the direction of the Sybilline books, eased them for the most part of their superstitious fears.

CHAP. LXIII. THEN one of the consuls elect, Flaminius, to whom the legions that had wintered at Placentia had fallen by lot, sent a written order to the consul, to have that army encamped at Ariminum by the 15th of March. His intention was to enter upon his office in his province. For he well remembered the former struggles he had had with the patricians, when he was tribune of the people and afterwards when consul, in the first place about the consulship, which they would have had him abdicate, and in the next about his triumph. He was also odious to the fathers on account of a law which C. Claudius, tribune of the people, supported by no patrician but Flaminius, had carried in opposition to the senate, “that no senator, or father of a senator, should keep a bark of above eight tons burden.” For this was reckoned sufficient to bring their grain from their farms, and it seemed below a nobleman to reap advantage by merchandize. This affair was debated with great warmth, and derived on the author of the law, Flaminius, the hatred of the nobility, at the same time that it procured him the affections of the people and a second consulship. For these reasons imagining that they would detain him in the city, by falsifying the auspices, celebrating the Latine holidays, and other obstructions commonly practised to retard



retard the consuls, he pretended to take a journey into the country, as a private person, but secretly went into his province. When this step was made public it exasperated the fathers the more, who were already incensed against him. “Flaminius, said they, has declared war not only against the senators, but against the immortal Gods. Having formerly been elected consul contrary to the auspices, he did not obey either Gods or men, who forbade him to give battle. And now from a consciousness of this contempt, he had avoided the capitol, and making the solemn vows in form; lest on the day of his inauguration to his magistracy, he should go to the temple of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings; lest he should see and consult the senate, to whom he was odious, and who were hated by him alone; that he might not order the celebration of the *feriæ Latinæ*, or perform the annual sacrifice on mount Alba to Jupiter Latiaris; that he might not after having taken the auspices march in procession to the capitol, to make his vows in form, and go thence into his province, adorned with the robe of state and attended by the lictors. That, like a man servant in the army, he had stolen away privately without the badges of his dignity, the fasces and lictors, as if he was only going into banishment. He thought it more honorable to enter upon his command at Ariminum, than to be inaugurated at Rome, and to put on the robe of state in a publick inn, than amongst his household Gods. They were unanimously of opinion, that he ought to be recalled and brought back, and obliged to perform all the duties relating to Gods or men, before he set out for the army and his province.” It was decreed to send deputies for this purpose, and Q. Terentius and M. Antistius, who went on that errand, made no greater impression upon him, than the letters, which the senate had sent him in his first consulate. Within a few days he entered upon the exercise of his office, and as he was sacrificing,



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sacrificing, the bullock, after it was struck, escaped out of the hands of the sacrificers and bespattered many of the bystanders with blood. But those, who by their being far off were ignorant of the matter, were more alarmed than the rest, and fled. Most men looked on it as an omen of some great calamity. After he had received two legions from Sempronius, who had been consul the preceding year, and as many from the prætor C. Atilius, he began to make his troops defile towards Hetruria by the Apennines.

## B O O K XXII.


*Hannibal arrives in Hetruria, after having lost one of his eyes by continual watching in the marshes, through which he marched for four days and three nights without any sleep. C. Flaminius the consul, a rash man, having set out contrary to the auspices, commanded the military ensigns to be dug out of the ground when they could not be pulled out, and being thrown headlong from his horse after he had mounted, falls into an ambush laid for him by the Carthaginian at the lake of Thrasymen, whereon he and his army are cut off. 6000, who had opened themselves a passage with their swords, treacherously put in chains by Hannibal, notwithstanding Maherbal's solemn engagement to the contrary. The news of this defeat having occasioned universal grief at Rome, two mothers die for joy, that their sons were returned contrary to their expectation. A sacred spring vowed on account of this defeat. Q. Fabius Maximus, being sent in quality of dictator to command against Hannibal, avoids coming to an engagement with him, for fear of hazarding his army, dispirited by defeats, against an enemy elated and full of ardor by so many victories, and barely by acting on the defensive, frustrates all the Carthaginian's enterprizes. The general of the horse, M. Minucius, a rash impetuous officer, by accusing the dictator of dilatoriness and cowardice, receives, by an ordinance of the people, an equal authority with him. Upon which, having separated from him with half the troops, he engages in a disadvantageous ground, where his legions are in the greatest danger, out of which they are extricated by Fabius's advancing with his troops to their relief. The general of horse, overcome by this favor, encamps in conjunction with him, salutes him his father, and orders his troops to do the same. Hannibal, having ravaged Campania, is enclosed by Fabius between the city of Casilinum and Mount Callicula, and by tying little bundles of dry wood to the horns*



*horns of oxen and then setting them on fire, he puts to flight the Roman guard, that lay at Callicula, and gets through the defile. When he ravages the circumjacent lands with fire and sword, he spares the dictator's, to render him suspected of treachery. After that, during the consulate and command of Æmilius Paullus and Terentius Varro, the Romans receive a terrible defeat at Cannæ. In that battle are killed 45000 Romans, with the consul Paullus, eighty senators, and thirty persons who had either been consuls, prætors, or ædiles. After this defeat, when some young noblemen through despair had formed a resolution to leave Italy, P. Corn. Scipio, a legionary tribune, and afterwards surnamed Africanus, holds his drawn sword over their heads as they are deliberating about their design, and swears, he would treat every one as an enemy, who should not take the same oath that he did. By this means he makes them all bind themselves by oath not to leave Italy in any event. Besides this book contains an account of the grief and consternation at Rome, and of the better success in Spain. Two vestal virgins, Opimia and Feronia, convicted of incontinence. The scarcity of soldiers so great, that 8000 slaves are put in arms. The prisoners not ransomed, when they had it in their power to do it. All the city go out to meet Varro at his return and thank him for not having despaired of the republic.*

**T**HE spring was now approaching, when Han- CHAP.  
nibal moved out of his winter quarters, having I.  
before attempted to pass the Apennines in vain, by  
reason of the intolerable cold. While he staid in these  
quarters he was in great danger and fear for his own  
person. For the Gauls, whom the hopes of plunder  
and booty had induced to join him, seeing, that in-  
stead of pillaging and driving off the effects of others,  
their own country was become the theatre of the war,  
and harassed by the armies of both sides wintering  
there, began to hate Hannibal instead of the Romans.  
And after their chiefs had sought to cut him off by  
treachery, he owed his preservation to their own de-  
ceitfulness; for they discovered their conspiracy with  
the same levity of mind with which they had formed  
it. For security against their snares he often changed  
his habit, and often his perukes, so that they did not  
know him. This dread however made him the  
sooner leave his winter quarters. At the same time  
Servilius the consul elect entered upon office at Rome  
on the 15th of March. His laying before the se-  
nate,



CHAP.  nate, in order to their deliberation, a state of the publick affairs, gave occasion for renewing their invectives against Flaminius. “ We elected two  
 “ consuls, said they, and have but one. For what  
 “ just title had he to command and authority, what  
 “ auspices could he plead? These two necessary qualifications for his office he ought to have carried  
 “ with him from home, from his household and public Gods, after having celebrated the *feriæ Latinae*, offered the sacrifice on mount Alba, and  
 “ duly made his vows in the capitol. The auspices  
 “ could not follow him, who was but a private person, and since he had gone without taking them,  
 “ they could not be repeated anew in a strange  
 “ country.” Their fears were increased by the accounts of prodigies having happened in many places at the same time. In Sicily some soldiers javelins, and in Sardinia, the staff which a trooper, as he was going the rounds to the sentinels on the walls, held in his hand, took fire. Many fires were seen burning on the shores, and two shields sweated blood. Certain soldiers were struck with lightning, and the disc of the sun seemed to be diminished. At Præneste it rained red hot stones. At Arpi bucklers were seen in the air, and the sun fighting with the moon. At Capena two moons rose together in the day time. The waters of Cære were mixed with blood. The spring of Hercules was stained with spots of blood. As people were reaping in the fields of Antium ears of corn all bloody fell into their baskets. At Falerii the heaven seemed to rend to a great width, and a vast light to shine out of the hiatus. The lots, without any one’s touching them appeared smaller, and one of them fell out of the box with this inscription, MARS BRANDISHETH HIS SPEAR. At Rome, about the same time, the image of Mars, near those of the wolves on the Appian way, sweated. At Capua the sky seemed to be on fire, and the figure of a moon seemed to fall down in a shower. Several other prodigies of less note were likewise credited.

Several



Several goats bore wool, a hen and a cock changed sexes. These things being laid before them as they were reported, and the authors of them introduced into the senate, the consul desired the fathers advice on religious affairs. In consequence an act was passed, that some of these prodigies should be expiated by full grown victims, and others by sucklings, and that a supplication should be made at all the shrines for the space of three days. As for the rest, as soon as the decemvirs had consulted the Sybilline books, such means should be taken to expiate them as the Gods in their responses should declare to be agreeable to them. By the report of the decemvirs it was enacted, in the first place, that a present should be made to Jupiter of a thunderbolt of gold weighing fifty pounds, and others of silver to Juno and Minerva. That a sacrifice of full grown victims should be offered to Juno queen of the Gods on the Aventine hill, and to Juno Sospita at Lanuvium. That the ladies should make a contribution of as much money as each could conveniently spare, and carry it as a present to queen Juno on the Aventine hill, and spread a lectisternium. Likewise that such women as had been enfranchised, should make a collection according to their abilities, and make a present of it to the Goddess Feronia. When these things were done the decemvirs offered the larger kind of sacrifices in the forum of Ardea. On the last day of December a sacrifice was offered in the temple of Saturn at Rome, and a lectisternium ordered, which the senators themselves prepared. At the same time a public feast was made to him, during which the streets of Rome rung with the shouts of those who cried Saturnalia night and day; and the people were ordered to celebrate that day for ever.

WHILE the consul was busied at Rome in appeasing the Gods, and making the levies, the Carthaginian had quitted his winter quarters. Upon a report that Flaminius had advanced as far as Aretium, he chose the nearest way through the marshes, which the



CHAP. II. Arno<sup>a</sup> had then overflowed more than usual, notwithstanding another more commodious but somewhat longer was pointed out to him. He ordered his Spaniards and Africans, all veterans and the flower of his army, to march foremost with their baggage in the middle of them, that they might not want provisions in case they should be obliged to halt any where. The Gauls were to follow them, that they might be in the center, and his cavalry to form the rear. Then he disposed Mago with the light-armed Numidians to bring up and keep the army together, in particular the Gauls, lest through fatigue and weariness with the length of the way, as they are a people who cannot endure hardships, they should slip aside or stop. The advanced guard marched regularly after their proper colors, wherever the guides led them, through deep waters, quagmires, and in mud. But the Gauls, who could not keep their feet, fell, without being able to rise again out of the bogs. They had neither spirits to support their bodies, nor hope to support their minds. Some were scarce able to drag their weary limbs after them; others, when once quite overcome with fatigue, lay dying among the beasts, which likewise lay all about. But what tormented them most was the want of sleep, which they endured for four days and three nights. As the whole ground was covered with water, and they could not find a dry place to lay their wearied bodies on, they heaped their baggage up in the waters and lay down upon it. Great heaps of dead beasts lay all along the road, and as the Gauls sought only somewhat that stood above the water to sleep on, for a short time they used these carcases instead of beds. Hannibal himself, who already had a distemper in his eyes, first occasioned by the unsettled weather of the spring, which was alternately cold and hot, rode on the only elephant he had left, which kept him high above the waters: but at length watching, the un-

<sup>a</sup> It rises in the *Apennines* near the confines of *Romagna Florentina*, and falls into the Tuscan sea, eight miles below *Pisa*.



wholesom damps in the night, and the gross air of the marshes, brought a defluxion into his head, which, as he had neither a proper place or leisure to apply remedies, cost him one of his eyes.

WHEN he had got out of the marshes, where many men and beasts of burden perished miserably, he encamped on the first dry ground he could find. Here he was informed by scouts whom he had sent before, that the Roman army lay about the walls of Aretium. Then he applied himself with all possible care to penetrate the designs and disposition of the consul, to learn the situation of the country, and the means and roads for bringing provisions to his troops, and every other thing necessary to be acquainted with in the present conjuncture. The fields of Hetruria, which lye between Fesulæ<sup>a</sup> and Aretium were the most fertile of Italy, and produced great store of corn, cattle, and abundance of all kinds of necessaries. As for the Roman consul, grown impetuously proud since his first consulship, he not only paid no regard to the authority of the laws and senate, but did not even shew a due fear of the Gods. This his innate impetuosity of temper fortune had cherished, by granting him success in his affairs at home and wars abroad. So that it was sufficiently evident, that without consulting Gods or men he would act in every respect with great fire and heat. In order to make him hurry himself more precipitately into the effects of these his imperfections, the Carthaginian prepared to exasperate and provoke him. Leaving the enemy on the left, and taking the rout to Fesulæ, he marched to lay waste the center of Hetruria, and shewed the consul at a distance as great destruction as he could make by fire and sword. Flaminius, who had the enemy lain still would not have remained quiet, when he saw his allies effects carried and driven off before his eyes, imagined it reflected disgrace on him, that the Carthaginian was traversing the center of Italy, and without opposition marching to attack the walls

CHAP.  
III.

<sup>a</sup> Fiesoli in Tuscany.



CHAP. of Rome. All the other members of the council of  
 III. war advised salutary rather than specious measures :  
 to wait the coming of his colleague, that they might  
 act with united forces, heart and counsels ; and in the  
 mean time send out the cavalry and light-armed auxi-  
 liaries to restrain the enemy's licentious depredations.  
 But he rushed out from the council in a violent rage,  
 and gave the signal for marching and of battle at the  
 same time. ' What! says he, shall we then sit still  
 ' before the walls of Aretium! Perhaps this is our na-  
 ' tive country, and here are our household Gods! Let  
 ' Hannibal, who has slipt through our hands ravage  
 ' Italy with fire and sword, and thereby penetrate  
 ' to the walls of Rome! And shall we not remove  
 ' hence, till the senate send for Flaminius from Areti-  
 ' um, as they formerly did for Camillus from Veii?'  
 Upon which presumptuous speech, when he ordered  
 the ensigns to be pulled up, and had mounted his  
 horse, the horse suddenly fell, and threw the consul  
 head foremost to the ground. All who attended  
 were frightened at this accident, as a bad omen at  
 setting out. Besides he was told, that an ensign bearer  
 with all his efforts could not pull his standard out of  
 the ground. Upon this he turned about to the per-  
 son who brought him this news, ' Do not you also,  
 ' said he, bring me letters from the senate, prohibit-  
 ' ing me to give battle? Be gone, tell them to dig  
 ' out the standard, if fear has so froze their hands that  
 ' they cannot pull it up.' Upon this the army began  
 to march. The chief officers, besides having declar-  
 ed against it in council, were terrified by these two  
 prodigies. But the common soldiers, regarding only  
 their hopes, not the reasons and motives for it, re-  
 joiced at this confidence in their general.

CHAP. HANNIBAL, in order to provoke his enemy  
 IV. to revenge the injuries done to his allies, committed  
 all manner of hostilities in that track of land which  
 lyes between the city of Cortona<sup>a</sup>, and the lake of  
 Trasymen<sup>b</sup>. He had already advanced to places

<sup>a</sup> In the *Florentin* between the *Clanis* and marsh of *Clusium*. <sup>b</sup> *Lago di Perugia*.



naturally formed for ambush, in particular where the lake of Thrasymen lyes at the foot of the Cortonian mountains. Betwixt these there is only a narrow defile, as if it had been left for the very purpose. It by degrees grows somewhat wider, and is lined by some little rising hills. Here he encamped only with his Africans and Spaniards in open view. The Balears and light armed troops he posted behind the hills on the right. His horse he posted under cover of the eminences on the left, near the entry into the defile, that as soon as the Romans entered it, they might all be inclosed by the lake and the mountains, while the horse stood in the mouth of the passage. Flaminius had come to the lake at sun-set the night before, and next day before it was clear light passed the defile, without reconnoitring the ground. When he begun to extend his line in the valley, he saw no more of the enemy than the party that faced him. Those behind and above him were hid in ambush. As soon as Hannibal got what he had been laboring for, the enemy enclosed between the lake and the mountains, and surrounded by his forces, he gave the signal for them all to charge at the same time. They ran down upon them the nearest way they could; and, what frightened the Romans more in this sudden and unexpected attack, was a fog, which rose out of the lake, and was thicker in the valley than on the mountains. For by this means the different corps of the enemy could better see one another coming out of the several valleys, and run down to the charge all together. But the Romans, who could not see the situation they were in, were first made sensible by the shout, which rung from all sides, that they were surrounded. They were charged in front and flank before they were formed, could get ready their arms, or draw their swords.

CHAP.  
IV.

IN this universal consternation of his troops, the consul, notwithstanding the danger, was perfectly intrepid, and flying wherever he heard a confused shout, re-instated the disordered ranks, as time and place

CHAP.  
V.



CHAP.

v.



place would allow him. Wherever he could go, or be heard, he exhorted the troops to stand and fight. “It was not vows and supplications to the Gods, but main force and valor, by which they could escape. With your swords open yourselves a passage through the middle of your enemy. Danger ceases the instant men cease to fear.” But neither his advice nor his orders could be heard for the noise and confusion. Nay, so far were the soldiers from knowing their proper colors, ranks and posts, that they had scarce spirits to take or make ready their arms for fighting, and some, who were rather burthened than defended by them, fell oppressed by their weight. Besides, in so thick a fog they had greater use of ears than of eyes. They directed their faces and eyes wherever they heard the groans of the wounded, the blows on the bodies or armor, and the tumultuous shouts of those that fought, and those who were afraid. Some, as they were flying, fell into a crowd of those that were fighting, and there stuck fast; others, as they were returning to battle, were prevented by troops of men flying. However, after they had exerted their utmost efforts on all sides in vain, saw themselves environed by the lake and mountains in flank, and by the enemy in front and rear, and that they had no hopes of safety, but what depended on their arms and swords, then every one became his own leader and encourager to behave valiantly, and the battle was re-instated. They were not marshalled into principes, hastati and triarii, nor were those distinct corps to fight in their order, some before and some behind the colors, so that every soldier should remain in his proper legion, cohort or company; but they rallied together by chance, and each fought before or in his rank in proportion to his courage. So great was the ardor of the combatants, and so keenly were they engaged, that none of them perceived an earthquake which threw down great parts of many cities of Italy, changed the course of the most rapid rivers, carried



ried the sea up rivers, and overturned mountains with a terrible crash.

THE action continued three hours, and was very sharp in every place, but still fiercer and bloodier round the consul. The flower of the troops followed him, and wherever he saw his own men in danger, and hard put to it, thither he flew courageously to their relief. As he was distinguished by the splendor of his arms, the enemy attacked, and the Romans defended him with the greatest fury. At length an Insubrian trooper, named Ducarius, who likewise knew Flaminius's face, called out, "There  
" is the consul, who slaughtered our legions, and  
" pillaged our lands and cities. I will now make  
" him a victim to the manes of my countrymen,  
" whom he so cruelly put to death." With that, putting spurs to his horse, he rushed through the thickest of the enemy, and, having first killed the consul's armor-bearer, who opposed his furious attack, ran the consul through with his spear. When he would have stripped him, the triarii prevented him by defending the body with their shields. The greatest part then first begun to fly, and now neither lakes nor mountains could stop their flight they were so terrified. They ran blindfold through the most narrow and steep places, and arms and men tumbled headlong promiscuously. A great number, seeing no other means of escape, entered the lake where it was shallow, and waded so far, as only their heads and shoulders remained above water. So great was their fear, that many inconsiderately endeavored to swim. This being an endless task, and beyond possibility of being accomplished, they were either swallowed up by the whirlpools, when their strength was gone, or, after having fatigued themselves in vain, with difficulty got back to the shore, where they were every one killed by the enemy's cavalry, which had entered the water; 6000 of the vanguard boldly opened themselves a passage through the enemy that faced them, and escaped out of the defile, with-

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VI.



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out knowing the least of what was doing behind them. Then they halted on a little hill, where they heard the shouts and clashing of arms, but by reason of the fog could neither see nor perceive how the battle went. At length when the victory was decided, and the day grown clear by the fog's being dispersed by the rays of the sun, through this bright light the hills and valleys appeared, and shewed the loss of the battle, and the Roman army miserably slaughtered. Wherefore, lest the enemy's cavalry, which descried them at a distance, should be sent to attack them, they pulled up their ensigns in a hurry, and marched off with all possible expedition. Next day, when besides all their other miseries, they were exceedingly oppressed with hunger, upon a faithful promise of Maherbal, who pursued them in the night with all his cavalry, that in case they delivered up their arms, they should be allowed to depart with one garment apiece, they surrendered. Hannibal fulfilled this agreement with the faithfulness peculiar to Carthaginians, for he put them all in irons.

CHAP.

VII.



THIS is the famous battle of Thrasymen, and one, amongst the few, memorable defeats of the Roman people: 15000 Romans were slain in the field of battle, and 10000, having been dispersed in the flight over all Hetruria, got to Rome by different routs: 1500 Carthaginians lay dead on the spot, and many on both sides died afterwards of their wounds. Some other historians exaggerate the loss in both armies. But for my own part, besides that I never chuse, as is commonly the humor of historians, to write any thing without good authority, I have chiefly followed the historian Fabius, who lived at the time of this war. Hannibal dismissed all the prisoners that were Latines without ransom, and put the Romans in chains. Then he separated the dead bodies of his own from the heaps of slaughtered enemies, and ordered them to be buried. He likewise caused diligent search to be made for Flaminius's body, in order to have buried it, but it could not be found.





found. On the first news of this defeat at Rome, the people ran into the forum in great terror and confusion. The women ran out into the streets, enquiring of every one they met, what sudden calamity it was, the news whereof had arrived, and what had happened to the army? When the multitude, who had crowded as if it had been to a public assembly, turning sometimes to the comitia, and sometimes to the senate-house, called out to the magistrates to communicate the news to them, at length about sunset M. Pomponius the prætor said, “ We have been “ defeated in a great battle.” Though he told them no particulars, yet they buzzed various rumors into one another’s ears, and went home and related, “ that the consul, and a great part of his troops, “ had been killed. That only a small number re- “ mained alive, which were either dispersed in the “ flight through Etruria, or taken prisoners by the “ enemy.” Those, whose relations had served under Flaminius, were distracted in mind by as various anxieties, as there are different misfortunes to which conquered troops are liable, and no person yet knew sufficiently what they had either to hope or fear. The next and the following days, a multitude of citizens, but far more women than men, waited at the gates, either for their relations, or those who could give some accounts of them. They crowded round whom- ever they met, asking them questions; nor could they be pulled away, especially from one of their acquaintance, till they had learned every particular in order. Then they went away from their inform- ers with grief or joy in their looks, according to the accounts they had received, and surrounded on their return home by others, who either congratulated or condoled with them. The women in particular distinguished themselves in their expressions of grief or joy. One is said, on suddenly meeting her son safe at the gate, to have died in his sight. Another, who had been falsely informed of her son’s death, expired for joy at the first sight of him entering the house, where



where she was sitting in great sorrow. The prætors kept the senate assembled from sun-rising to sun-set for several days, to deliberate with what general and what forces they should be able to make head against the victorious Carthaginians.

**CHAP. VIII.** **BEFORE** they could come to any determinate resolution, an express arrived with the news of a second defeat. Hannibal had surrounded 4000 horse, which the consul Servilius had sent under command of the proprætor Centenius to his colleague, in Umbria whither they had taken their rout, as soon as they were informed of the defeat at Thrasymen. The news of this calamity affected people very differently. Some, whose breasts were full of unspeakable grief, considered this loss of the horse as but a trifling misfortune in comparison of the former. Others did not judge of the event in itself, but, as the slightest calamity is more sensibly felt by a body already ailing, than a heavier is by one in healthful vigor; so, in this weakened and crazy situation of the republic, they thought every cross accident should be considered, not according to it's greatness, but according to the relation it bore to the exhausted strength of the state, which could not support the least thing that increased the weakness. Wherefore the republic had recourse to a remedy, which had not been wanted or applied for a long time, the nomination of a dictator. But the consul, whose sole right it was to nominate this officer, was absent; and as the Carthaginians were in possession of Italy, they could neither easily send couriers or letters to him; and besides, as there was no precedent of the people's having a right to create a dictator, they nominated Q. Fabius Maximus prodictator, and M. Minucius Rufus general of horse. To them the senate gave commission to fortify the walls and towers of the city, to post guards in whatever places they thought fit, and break down the bridges; an evidence that they believed they were reduced to the necessity of fighting for their household Gods, and even

Q. Fabius  
Maximus  
dictator, M.  
Minucius  
Rufus general  
of horse.



even Rome, since they were not able to defend Italy itself.

HANNIBAL marched directly cross Um-  
bria<sup>a</sup> as far as Spoletum<sup>b</sup>, where he ravaged the  
lands and attempted to take the city by storm, but  
was repulsed with great slaughter of his men. From  
the little success he had in attacking this single colo-  
ny, he judged how difficult an enterprize it would  
be to take Rome itself. Wherefore he turned aside  
into the territories of Picenum, which not only a-  
bounded with plenty of all kinds of fruits, but also  
afforded store of plunder, which his rapacious and  
needy troops carried off with great avidity. There  
he encamped for several days, and refreshed his  
troops, who were exceedingly harassed with winter  
marches, coming through the marshes, and a battle  
which had proved more successful in the issue, than  
light and easy in the fighting.

CHAP.  
IX.

WHEN he had given sufficient rest to his men,  
who delighted more in plundering and pillaging,  
than in ease and repose, he dislodged and laid waste  
the territories of Prætutii<sup>c</sup> and Adria, the country  
of the Marfi, Marrucini and Peligni, and all about  
Arpi and Luceria, which district adjoins to Apulia.  
In the mean time the consul Cn. Servilius had several  
slight engagements with the Gauls, and taken one  
inconsiderable town. But whenever he received ad-  
vice of the defeat of his colleague and his army, be-  
ing afraid of the capital of his country, he marched  
directly to Rome, that he might not be absent in  
this dangerous conjuncture. Q. Fabius Maximus,  
now again dictator, the very day he entered upon  
office, assembled the senate, and begun with the  
worship of the Gods. After he had demonstrated to  
the senate, that the consul Flaminius had erred much  
less through rashness and ignorance of the art of war,  
than by neglecting and contemning the necessary ce-  
remonies and auspices, that the Gods themselves

<sup>a</sup> In the duchy of Urbino.

<sup>b</sup> In the ecclesiastical state.

<sup>c</sup> In the *hither Abruzzo*, in the  
kingdom of Naples.

were



CHAP. IX. were to be consulted for the proper expiations to avert their wrath, he prevailed to have an act passed, ordering the decemvirs to inspect the Sybilline books, a decree which is seldom made but when some terrible prodigies are reported. These officers perused the books of their fates, and made the following report to the senate, ‘ that a vow made to Mars on account of the present war, had not been made with the proper ceremonies, and therefore ought to be performed anew, and in a more ample manner ; that the great games should be vowed to be celebrated in honor of Jupiter, temples to Venus *Ærycina*<sup>d</sup>, and to Mens<sup>e</sup> ; that a supplication and lectisternium should be made ; and a sacred spring<sup>f</sup> should be vowed, in case the war should be successful, and the republic remained in the same situation wherein it was before the commencement of the war.’ Because Fabius was employed with preparations for the war, the senate ordered the prætor M. *Æmilius* to see all these things speedily put in execution, according to the opinion of the college of pontiffs.

CHAP. X. WHEN these acts were passed, the pontifex Maximus, L. Cornelius Lentulus, upon the prætor’s applying to the college for advice, was of opinion, that the people’s consent should be asked about sacrificing all the animals brought forth in one spring, which could not be vowed without an ordinance from them. The bill brought in for that purpose, was conceived in the following terms. ‘ Give orders, if you please, that the matter now laid before you be performed in this manner ; if the republic of the Roman people called, Quirites, shall, for the five next ensuing years, be preserved, as I wish it may, in safety during this present war, then the Roman people called, Quirites in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, and in the

<sup>d</sup> So called from mount *Æryx*. Her temple near the Clodius gate.

<sup>e</sup> The Goddess of cornish. Her temple was built near the forum.

<sup>f</sup> By *Her Sacram*, the ancients meant a sacrifice of all cattle brought forth on the calends of March and first of May.



wars with the Cisalpine Gauls, shall make a gift  
 and present to Jupiter of all the pigs, lambs, kids,  
 calves, provided they were not before dedicated to sa-  
 cred uses, that shall be brought forth in one spring,  
 on a day to be appointed by order of the senate  
 and people. Whoever will do this, let him do it  
 when he pleases, and in what manner he pleases.  
 In whatever way it shall be done, let it be reckon-  
 ed as regular. If the animal which ought to be  
 offered shall die, it shall be deemed profane, but not  
 imputed to any person as a crime. If any one shall  
 maim or kill it ignorantly, it shall not be charged  
 on him as a crime. If any person shall steal it,  
 let it not be deemed impiety in the people, or the  
 person from whom it is stolen. If it shall be igno-  
 rantly sacrificed on a prohibited day, let it be deem-  
 ed regular. If by night or by day, by a slave or  
 a freeman, let it be held as regular. If after the  
 senate and people have ordered it to be sacrificed,  
 and have offered their own sacrifices, let the peo-  
 ple be free and discharged from all imputation of  
 guilt whatever.\* The great games vowed for the  
 same purpose, were celebrated at the expence of  
 33333  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an as<sup>a</sup>, besides 300 oxen sacrificed to  
 Jupiter, white oxen and other large victims to many  
 other Gods. When these vows were made in due  
 form, the supplication was proclaimed, and not only  
 the whole people in the city, but such peasants, the  
 preservation of whose fortunes depended on the pub-  
 lic safety, went in procession with their wives and  
 children. Then was celebrated for three days a lec-  
 tisternium, under the direction of the decemvirs, who  
 had the care of holy things. In it were spread six  
 beds open to public view; one for Jupiter and Juno,  
 another for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars  
 and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth  
 for Vulcan and Vesta, and the sixth for Mercury and  
 Ceres. Then the temples were vowed. Q. Fab.

\* One thousand seventy-six pounds, seven shillings and eight-pence far-  
 thing. Arbuthnot.



Maximus vowed that to Venus Erycina, because it appeared from the Sybilline books, that the supreme magistrate in the state could only make this vow. The prætor Otacilius vowed the temple to Mens.

CHAP. XI. THESE religious concerns being finished, the dictator proceeded to lay a state of the war and of the republic before the house, what and how many legions the fathers should vote to be sent against the victorious enemy. The senate enacted, ‘ that he should  
 ‘ receive the army from the consul, Cn. Servilius,  
 ‘ and levy besides, out of the city and among the allies, as many horse and foot as he should think  
 ‘ proper. In all other circumstances he had a discretionary power to act and do what he should judge  
 ‘ most for the benefit of the public.’ Fabius said, that to Servilius’s army he would join two legions which were levied by the general of horse. He fixed the day for their rendezvous at Tibur<sup>a</sup>. Then he issued a proclamation, ordering the inhabitants of unfortified towns and castles to remove into places of safety ; likewise all to retire out of that part of the country through which Hannibal was to pass, after setting their houses on fire, and damaging their corns, that the enemy might have no means of subsisting. He himself set out by the Flaminian way, to meet the consul with his army. When he saw, near Ocriculum upon the Tiber, a body of men, and the consul advancing with the horse, he sent a messenger to tell him, to come to the dictator without the lictors. He readily obeyed this order, and the manner of their meeting gave the citizens and allies a very high idea of the dictatorship, an office which was almost quite effaced from their memories. During this interview, letters arrived from the city with advice, that the transports, carrying provisions from Ostia to the army in Spain, were taken by a Carthaginian fleet near the port of Cosa<sup>b</sup>. For this reason the consul was ordered immediately to go to Ostia, and

<sup>a</sup> *Tivoli.*

<sup>b</sup> A promontory in *Tuscany*, jutting out into the sea, between *Civita*

*la Vecchia* and the promontory of *Argentiera*.



with the ships that were there and at Rome, completely manned with sailors and marines, to pursue the enemy's fleet, and guard the coasts of Italy. A vast number of men were lifted at Rome: the freed-men also, who had children, and were of a proper age for service, took the military oath. Out of this army of citizens, as many as were under thirty-five years of age were put on board the fleet, and the rest left to guard the city.

THE dictator, after receiving the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, the lieutenant general, marched through the Sabine territories to the Tibur on the day he had appointed for the rendezvous of his new raised troops. Then he advanced to Præneste, and crossing the country, returned to the Latine way. From thence, after having with the utmost care reconnoitred the country, he went in quest of the enemy, with a fixed resolution never to hazard a battle on any ground, except forced to it by necessity. The very first day that he encamped in sight of the enemy near Arpi, the Carthaginian without delay drew forth his army in order, and offered him battle. But when he saw the enemy perfectly quiet, and no confusion in their camp, he retired to his lines, upbraiding the Romans, that their martial spirits were at last broke, the war was at an end, and they plainly confessed themselves inferior to him in valor and glory. Yet he was inwardly vexed, that for the future he was to deal with a general very unlike Flaminus and Sempronius; and that the Romans, taught by their calamities, had pitched upon a captain equal to the Carthaginian. From that instant he began to be more afraid of the dictator's prudence than his strength. He had not yet experienced the steadiness of this general; he therefore begun to exercise and try his resolution by frequently moving his camp, and laying waste the lands of his allies before his eyes. Sometimes he disappeared with precipitation; sometimes privately halted all of a sudden in some by-winding of the road, in order if he could to attack  
the

CHAP.

XII.



CHAP. the Roman as he came down into the plain. But  
 XII. Fabius kept his army on eminences at a moderate distance from the enemy, that it might neither be in their power to escape, or come to blows with him. He kept his soldiers within their camp, unless when absolutely necessary occasions obliged to the contrary. When they went to fetch provisions and wood, they did not go in small or straggling parties. He kept always a guard of horse, and light armed troops drawn up in order, and ready for sudden excursions, by which he not only secured every post belonging to his own men, but harassed the enemy's foragers as they ranged all about. He never put all to the hazard at once. The small advantages gained in these slight skirmishes, which, by reason of a safe retreat being at hand, were undertaken in security, accustomed his troops, dispirited by former defeats, at length to rely more both on their valor and good fortune. But the Carthaginian was not more displeased with this beneficial conduct, than the Roman general of horse. Nothing hindered the latter from ruining the republic, but his being in a subordinate command. He was hot and impetuous in council, and unbridled in his tongue. At first before a small number, and then publicly in hearing of all the soldiers, he called the prodictator, an indolent instead of a prudent, and a cowardly instead of a cautious general, giving his virtues the names of the vices bordering nearest upon them. Thus he endeavored to raise himself by cunningly debasing his superiors, a most villainous practice which is crowned with success in but too many instances.

CHAP. FROM Arpi in Apulia Hannibal passed into  
 XIII. Samnium, where he ravaged the territories of Bene-  
 ventum<sup>a</sup>. He took Telesia<sup>b</sup>, on purpose to irritate the Roman general, in order to draw him down to fight on fair ground, if by chance he should be provoked at so many indignities and injuries done to his

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Now *Telese*, near *Salbato*, in *Terra di Lavarò*.



allies. Among the great number of Roman allies of Italian extraction who had been taken prisoners and dismissed by the Carthaginian at Thrasymen, were three Capuan troopers, who had been gained by great presents and promises to conciliate the affection of their countrymen to Hannibal. These told him, that if he would move with his army into Campania, he might easily make himself master of Capua. The Carthaginian, considering that the step was of too great importance to be taken on the authority of persons of so mean quality, remained a while in suspense, and sometimes seemed to depend upon their assurances, and sometimes not; but at last they prevailed on him to leave Samnium and go into Campania. After he had again and again advised them to be careful of verifying their promises by deeds, he dismissed them with orders to return with some of the chief men of their country. Being informed by persons well acquainted with the country, that if he could seize the pass of Casinum, he would effectually seclude the Romans from assisting their allies, ordered his guide to lead him into that region. But the barbarous manner, in which the Carthaginian pronounced the Latin words, made the guide mistake Casilinum for Casinum. Hereby he turned out of his rout, and through the fields of Allifæ, Cale and Calatia, came down into the plains of Stella. When he saw all this territory surrounded with mountains and rivers, he called his guide, and asked him, what country it was? At length he discovered his error, and that Casinum was at a great distance in another region, by the guide's answering that he should that day lodge at Casilinum. Then he ordered him to be whipped with rods, and crucified, for an example of terror to the rest. After fortifying his camp, he detached Maherbal with the cavalry to pillage the lands of Falernum. They laid waste the country as far as the waters of Sinuessæ, and the Numidians committed great slaughter, but the flight and consternation of the inhabitants was much greater. Notwithstanding



ing this terror, and every place was suffering the calamities of a terrible war, none of the Roman allies were shaken in their fidelity ; for as they lived under an equitable and mild government, they did not refuse submission to their superiors, and indeed this is the only sure tie of fidelity.

CHAP.

XIV.



BUT when the enemy was encamped at the river Volturnus, the most pleasant country in Italy in flames, and the burning villages smoking, while Fabius was marching along the top of mount Masicus <sup>a</sup>, the murmurs in the Roman army broke out afresh. They had been quiet for several days, because, as they marched faster than usual, they believed they made that haste to prevent Campania from being ravaged. But when they came to the extremity of mount Masicus in sight of the enemy, and saw the fields of Falernum and the houses of the colony of Sinuessæ on fire, without the least mention of a battle, Minucius exclaimed to this effect. ‘ Did we come here to be spectators, ‘ to satiate our eyes with the slaughter of our allies, ‘ and the burning of their country ? If we were ashamed on no other account, we ought to be on account of those citizens, whom our fathers planted as a colony at Sinuessæ to protect those borders against the Samnites. It is not a neighboring enemy the Samnites, who have set this country in a flame; but Carthaginians, foreigners, who, by our dilatoriness and indolence, have come hither from the remotest corners of the world. Alas ! are we so much degenerated from our ancestors, that we shall see those coasts, which they thought it a disgrace to their empire, that a Carthaginian fleet should approach, now full of Numidians and Moors ? Shall we, who not long ago were transported with indignation at the siege of Saguntum, and called not only upon men but Gods and the faith of treaties to witness that injury, tamely look on while Hannibal approaches the walls of a Roman colony ? The smoke of the flaming villages

<sup>a</sup> In the neighbourhood of *Falernum*.



‘ and farms drives full in our eyes and faces, the cries CHAP.  
 ‘ of our lamenting allies, who oftener implore our XIV.  
 ‘ help than that of the Gods, ring in our ears. We,  
 ‘ envelop’d in clouds and forests, keep our troops  
 ‘ like sheep basking in shady groves and solitary  
 ‘ hills. Had M. Furius chose to recover our city  
 ‘ from the Gauls by wandering over the tops of hills  
 ‘ and through forests in the same manner as our mo-  
 ‘ dern Camillus (pitched upon as the only person fit  
 ‘ to be our dictator in our great distress) attempts to  
 ‘ recover Italy from Hannibal, O Rome, thou hadst  
 ‘ still been in possession of the Gauls, thou, whom I  
 ‘ fear, if we proceed thus cautiously, our ancestors  
 ‘ have so often preserved for Hannibal and the Car-  
 ‘ thaginians. But the former, like a hero and a true  
 ‘ Roman, on the same day that news was brought of  
 ‘ his being nominated dictator by an act of senate  
 ‘ and an ordinance of the people, though Janiculus  
 ‘ was high enough for him to sit down on and look  
 ‘ at the enemy, came down into fair ground, and  
 ‘ beat the Gallic legions one day at the place called  
 ‘ the Gauls burying ground, and the next at Gabii.  
 ‘ What! Many years after the Samnites made us  
 ‘ pass under the yoke at the pass of Caudium, whe-  
 ‘ ther did L. Papirius Cursor take the yoke off the  
 ‘ necks of the Romans, and put it on the proud  
 ‘ Samnites, by taking a strict survey of the hills of  
 ‘ Samnium, or by vigorously pressing the siege of,  
 ‘ and straitning Luceria, by provoking the victori-  
 ‘ ous enemy? And pray of late to what else did  
 ‘ C. Lutatius owe his victory, but to expedition?  
 ‘ The very next day after he came in sight of the  
 ‘ enemy, he destroyed their fleet, burdened with pro-  
 ‘ visions, and encumbered with their own imple-  
 ‘ ments and apparatus. It is folly to believe that  
 ‘ victory can be attained by inaction and prayers.  
 ‘ It is absolutely necessary to make the troops take  
 ‘ arms, to lead them down into the plain to fight it  
 ‘ out man to man. By daring enterprizes, and by  
 ‘ action, has the Roman state attained it’s height of



‘ greatness, not by this dilatory conduct, which cowards term circumspection.’ Minucius harangued in this manner, surrounded by a crowd of legionary tribunes and Roman knights. His presumptuous speeches likewise reached the ears of the common soldiers, and if the affair had been left to be determined by the suffrages of the troops, they would certainly have preferred Minucius to their general Fabius.

CHAP.

xv.



BUT the dictator, being no less on his guard against his own troops than against the enemy, because he thought he ought in particular to shew himself invincible to them, persisted in his resolution, and observed the same conduct during all the campaign; though he knew very well that he was much blamed for his slow proceedings not only in his own camp but even at Rome. In consequence, Hannibal, despairing of bringing on an action which he so exceedingly longed for, began to think of winter quarters; because, though the country he was in yielded him plenty of provision for the present, yet it could not always do so, as it was full of orchards and vineyards, and planted with fruit trees, which served rather for delight than use. Fabius's scouts brought him intelligence of these things. As he was very certain, that the Carthaginian must return through the same defiles by which he had entered the territories of Falernum, he sent sufficient detachments to seize mount Callicula, and Casilinum, a city through which runs the Volturno, and which divides the Campanian and Falernian territories. He himself led back his troops over the tops of the same hills, and detached L. Hostilius Mancinus with 400 horse to scour the country. This officer was in the number of those young men, who listened with approbation to the extravagant speeches of the general of horse. At first he went as a scout to observe the enemy's motions without exposing himself. But when he saw the Numidians ranging through the villages, he took that fair opportunity to kill some of them. Immediately his heart was possessed with a strong desire of



of fighting, and he forgot the dictator's orders, who had commanded him to procede as cautiously as possible, and to retire as soon as he should come in sight of the enemy. One party of Numidians after another attacked him, and by retiring drew him on almost to their camp, when both his men and horses were very much fatigued. Carthalo, who commanded the cavalry, attacked him at a gallop, and having put him to flight before they came within reach of a dart, pursued him close almost for five miles. Mancinus, seeing the enemy persist in the pursuit, and having no hopes of an escape, exhorted his troops and faced about, though inferior to the enemy in every respect. In consequence he and the best of his troopers were surrounded and slain. The rest retreated with precipitation first to Cale, and from thence by bye ways to the dictator. By accident Minucius rejoined Fabius that day. He had been detached a few days before to guard a pass upon the top of Tarracina, a narrow defile that commands the sea, in order to prevent Hannibal from getting into the Roman territories by the Appian way's being unguarded. The dictator and general of horse, having united their forces, encamped on the Carthaginian's rout about two miles from the enemy.

CHAP.  
XV.

NEXT day the Carthaginians drew up on the ground between the two camps: But the Romans posted themselves under cover of their entrenchments, which without doubt was a more advantageous situation. Still the Carthaginian kept advancing with his cavalry, and to provoke the Romans fought by starts, sometimes charging and sometimes retiring. But as the Romans did not stir from their posts, the action proved slow, rather agreeable to the dictator's than to Hannibal's intention. 200 Romans and 800 Carthaginians were left on the spot. As the way to Casilinum was beset, Hannibal seemed to be shut up. The Romans had Capua and Samnium, and a great many wealthy allies behind them to furnish them with provisions; while on the other hand, the Carthagi-

CHAP.  
XVI.



CHAP. nian was like to winter between the rocks of Formiæ<sup>a</sup>,  
 XVI. and the sands and frightful marshes of Linternum<sup>b</sup>.  
 The Carthaginian clearly perceived that his own artifices were turned upon himself. As it was impracticable for him to escape by Casilinum, but he must pass over the mountains and top of Callicula, lest the Romans should in any place attack his army while shut up in the valley, to frustrate the enemy he fell on a device, which had a terrible appearance, though in reality it proved only a deception of the eyes. By means of this he proposed secretly to gain the mountains in the beginning of the night. In this manner did he put his cunning device in execution. He tied torches, which had been brought from every place in the country, bundles of branches and dry faggots to the horns of about 2000 oxen, some wild and some tame, which he had driven off among the rest of the plunder of the country. He gave Asdrubal strict charge early in the night to drive that herd with the burning faggots on their horns to the mountains, particularly, if possible, to the woods above the defile which the enemies had possessed.

CHAP. AS soon as it was dark he dislodged with great silence,  
 XVII. driving the cattle at a little distance before the army. But when they arrived at the foot of the hills and the narrow passes, the signal was given to light the faggots and to drive the oxen up the mountains that faced them. Fear of the flame that blazed on their heads, and the pain they felt when the heat penetrated to the quick and heart of their horns, made those animals run as if they had been mad. But thus wildly dispersing, they set fire to all the bushes about, so that the forests and hills seemed to be in flames, and as the tossing of their heads, which smarted with the heat, spread the flame more, they seemed to be men running up and down. The troops that had been posted to guard the passage of the defile no sooner saw fires on the tops of the hills, and above them, than thinking themselves surrounded, they quit-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 95.<sup>b</sup> *Torre di Patria*, near *Naples*.



ted their post, and made to the tops of the mountains, as the safest way, since there were fewest fires there. They however fell in with some oxen that had stray'd from their herds. At first and while at a distance they imagined they breathed fire, and stopped in astonishment at the wondrous sight. But when they discovered that it was a human device, they believed they had got into an ambush, and fled in greater fear than before. Here they likewise fell in with the enemy's light-armed troops. But both sides being equally afraid, they waited the approach of day without beginning the battle. In the mean time Hannibal, having passed the defile, and killed some of the enemy in it, encamped in the territories of Allifæ.

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FABIUS perceived this confusion. But not questioning it's being a stratagem, and abhorring to hazard a battle in the night, he kept in his entrenchments. At break of day there was a battle on the top of the hill. In it the Romans, being somewhat superior in number, would easily have defeated the enemy's light-armed troops, which were cut off from their own men, had they not been sustained by a battalion of Spaniards, whom Hannibal detached to their relief. The troops of that nation being more accustomed to hills, lighter and nimbler to run over rocks and steep places, in this manner of fighting easily eluded, by the agility of their bodies, and lightness of their arms, an enemy used to fight on the plain without quitting their posts. Both retired into their camps, but not with the same advantage, for the Spaniards lost few or none, whereas several of the Romans fell. Fabius likewise dislodged, and passing the defile, encamped in a high and strong place above Allifæ. Then Hannibal, making a feint, as if he would go through Samnium to Rome, returned back, ravaging the country as far as Pelignum. Fabius still kept on the eminences between the enemy's army and Rome, without losing sight of them, or coming to a battle. From the country of the Peligni the Carthaginian,

CHAP.  
XVIII.



CHAP. XVIII. returning into Apulia, marched to Geronium<sup>a</sup>, which was deserted by the frightened inhabitants, because part of the wall was fallen down. The dictator encamped advantageously in the territory of Larinum<sup>b</sup>. Being then recalled to Rome about affairs of religion, he not only employed authority and advice, but even entreaties with the general of horse, 'to rely more on  
' prudence than fortune: rather to imitate his conduct who was his general, than that of Sempronius and Flaminius: not to imagine that no advantage was gained by baffling the enemy's artifices all the campaign. Physicians often do more good by giving rest to a patient, than by moving and stimulating the humours. It was no small advantage to have ceased to be defeated by an enemy so often victorious, and to have leave to breathe after so many defeats.' In this manner did he advise the general of the horse, but all in vain, and then set out for Rome.

CHAP. XIX. IN the beginning of this campaign wherein these things happened, the war was undertaken both by sea and land in Spain. Asdrubal having added ten ships to those which he had received ready fitted from his brother, gave Himilco a fleet of forty sail, and set out from New Carthage, keeping his fleet in land and marching his troops along the shore. Thus he was prepared, which ever way the enemy should attack him by sea or land. Cn. Scipio, hearing the enemy had quitted their winter quarters, at first resolved to do the same. But then not daring to attack them by land, because it was reported they were greatly reinforced by new auxiliaries, he embarked the choicest of his troops, and set out to meet them with thirty five sail of the line. After two days sail from Tarragon he came to an anchor ten miles from the mouth of the Ebro. From thence he detached two vessels of Marseilles to scout. They brought back advice, that the Carthaginian fleet was riding at the mouth of the river and their army encamped

<sup>a</sup> *St. Martin.*<sup>b</sup> *Now Larina.*



on the shore. In order therefore to surprize them, and strike them with terror all at once, he weighed and stood away for the enemy. In Spain are many towers on eminences, which serve both as watch-houses and defences against pirates. From these Scipio's fleet was first descried, and a signal made to Asdrubal. The alarm was given in the camp at land, before there was any moving of oars or other noise in the fleet, because the head-lands hid the enemy's fleet. Asdrubal sent trooper after trooper, with orders to the soldiers, who were either wandering on the shore or sitting quietly in their tents, little expecting to see the enemy or to fight that day, to go on board, and take their arms with all expedition. By this time the Roman fleet was near the harbor. The troopers thus detached spread these orders every where. Presently Asdrubal was ready with the whole army. All was full of confusion of different kinds by the sailors and soldiers hurrying on board the fleet, more like an army on the rout than one going to fight. They had scarce all embarked, when some weighed and put out their oars, others cut their cables to prevent their running foul. And as they did every thing in the greatest precipitation, the soldiers getting ready their arms hindered the sailors from doing their duty, and the confusion among them hindered the soldiers from taking and fitting on their arms. By this time Scipio was not only come near, but had given the signal for the line. Thus the Carthaginians, no less incommoded by the confusion amongst themselves, than by the attacks of the enemy, fled, after having more truly attempted, than actually entered into a battle. As the mouth of the river would not admit so large a squadron, and so many came at once, they run their vessels ashore in every place. Some escaped by the shelves, and others got on dry land, but for the most part without arms, and fled to their army which was drawn up on the shore. Yet at the first attack two Carthaginian ships were taken and four sunk.

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THOUGH the Romans saw the enemy at land, and extended in order of battle all along the shore, they immediately pursued the affrighted fleet, and by halbers made fast to their poops brought off all the vessels, that either had not beat to pieces against the shore or stuck fast on the shelves. Out of forty they took twenty five. Nor was this the greatest advantage of their victory, but by this one slight action they made themselves masters of all that coast. In consequence the fleet stood away for Honosca<sup>a</sup>, where having landed their troops they took and demolished that city, and went thence to New Carthage. They laid waste all the country round it, and then set on fire the houses adjoining to the walls and gates. From thence the fleet arrived loaded with plunder at Loguntica<sup>b</sup>, where they found a great quantity of naval stores, called spartum<sup>c</sup>, laid up by Asdrubal. Having taken away as much as they had use for, they set fire to the remainder. In their return they did not keep along shore, but sailed over to the island Ebusa<sup>d</sup>, where having in vain and with great fatigue besieged the capital for two days, when they saw it was wasting time to no purpose and they despaired of taking it, they fell to ravaging the lands. Having demolished and burnt several villages, and got more booty than they had done on the continent, as they were reembarking ambassadors arrived from the Balearian islands to sue for a peace from Scipio. Then the fleet returned to the country on this side the Ebro, where deputies from all the people about that river and from many in the extremities of Spain, met the proconsul. 120 states sincerely submitted to the Romans and gave hostages for their fidelity. Scipio ventured now to trust to his land forces, and marched as far as the pass of Castulo<sup>e</sup>. Asdrubal retired into Lusitania and nearer the ocean.

<sup>a</sup> The capital of the kingdom of *Valencia*.

<sup>b</sup> Now *Oliwa*, a village near *Valencia*.

<sup>c</sup> A kind of broom, called by the

Spaniards *Espardillas*, of which the ancients used to make cables.

<sup>d</sup> *Yvica*.

<sup>e</sup> *Castona la Vieja* on the confines of *New Castile* and *Andalusia*.



AFTER this there seemed to be no probability of farther disturbance during the campaign. And in fact it had been a peaceable one for what the Carthaginians could do. But besides that the Spaniards are naturally a restless people, and fond of revolutions, Mandonius and Indibilis, who formerly had been petty princes of the Ilergetes, as soon as the Roman had retired from the defile towards the sea coast, raised their people, and entering the countries that had submitted to the Romans, ravaged them. Against them Scipio detached 3000 Romans, with some light-armed auxiliaries, who, as they were an undisciplined rabble, routed them all. Some of them were killed, others made prisoners, and a great number disarmed. However this alarm brought back Asdrubal, who was retiring to the ocean, to protect his allies on this side the Ebro. The Carthaginians were incamped in the territories of Ilercaonia<sup>a</sup>, and the Romans at the new fleet, when a sudden piece of advice diverted the war another way. The Celtiberians, who had sent the chiefs of their state as deputies, and given hostages to the Romans, took arms upon a message from Scipio and entered the province of the Carthaginians<sup>b</sup> with a strong army, where they took three cities. Afterwards, in two battles in which they defeated Asdrubal himself, they killed 15000 of the enemy, took 4000 prisoners, and many colors.

THIS was the state of affairs in Spain when P. Scipio, who was continued in his command after the expiration of his consulate, came into the province, whither he had been sent by the senate with 30 ships of war, 8000 land forces, and a great quantity of arms and provisions. This fleet by reason of the great number of transports was descried afar off, and to the great joy of the Romans and allies got safe into the harbor of Tarragon. There the troops were landed, and Scipio having gone to join

<sup>a</sup> Their capital *Tortusa*.

<sup>b</sup> *Farther Spain* comprehending the kingdom of *Granada*, *Ardalusia*, part of *New Castile* and *Estremadura*, and what is now called *Portugal* and part of *Old Castile*.



CHAP. his brother, they from that time managed the war  
 XXII. with great harmony and concord. While the Car-  
 thaginians were employed in the Celtiberian war, the two brothers passed the Ebro without delay, and without seeing an enemy advanced to Saguntum, where it was reported the Spanish hostages given to Hannibal were kept with a weak guard. The sole tie, which hindered all the people in Spain from joining the Romans, to whom they were well affected, was a dread that the crime of their revolt would be expiated by the blood of their children. This tie, which bound all Spain, was broke by a single man, by a stratagem that was rather cunning than honest. At Saguntum was a noble Spaniard named Abelox, formerly firmly attached to the Carthaginians, but then (agreeable to the nature of most of these Barbarians) had changed his fidelity with fortune. Being convinced that people only despise a deserter, who brings over with him nothing but his own contemptible and infamous person without performing some important act of treachery, he sought means how to do the most signal service to his new friends. After seriously reflecting on every thing within the compass of his power, he fixed his mind principally upon delivering up the hostages, imagining that this alone would conciliate the affections of the states of Spain effectually to the Romans. But as the keepers of the hostages could do nothing without orders from Bostar the governor, he attacked him artfully. Bostar was encamped on the shore to keep the Romans from entering the haven. There Abelox took him aside, and, as if he had been ignorant, informed him of the present state of affairs. ‘ Fear, said he, has kept the Spaniards in awe hitherto, because the Romans were at a distance. But since they have passed the Ebro, such as meditate a change may find an asylum in their camp. Therefore it will be necessary by benefits and favors to engage those whom fear could not keep within bounds.’ When Bostar in amaze asked what that sudden important favor could be? he



he replied, ‘Send back the hostages to their respective  
‘ states. This will be very acceptable to their parents  
‘ in particular, who have great credit among their  
‘ own people, and to the nations in general. Every  
‘ person is pleased with being trusted, and to repose  
‘ confidence in men is often sufficient to make them  
‘ honest. I beg the charge of carrying home the  
‘ hostages may be committed to me, that I may by  
‘ actions corroborate my advice, and this acceptable  
‘ service in itself I will enhance the merit of by all  
‘ means in my power.’ Having persuaded this man,  
who was not so cunning as Carthaginians generally  
are, he went out secretly in the night to the enemies  
advanced guards, where meeting with some auxiliary  
Spaniards, who conducted him to Scipio, he informed  
him what he would bring him. Having mutually  
exchanged their faith, and fixed the time and place  
for delivering up the captives, the Spaniard returned  
to Saguntum. He spent the next day with Bostar in  
receiving orders how to execute his commission. Be-  
ing dismissed, he made a pretence of going in the night  
in order to escape the enemy’s guards, and having rais-  
ed the keepers of the hostages at an hour he had appoint-  
ed with them, he set out, and, as if he had been quite  
ignorant of the matter, he led them into the ambuscade  
which he himself had cunningly prepared for them.  
They were carried to the Roman camp. Then Abe-  
lox restored the hostages to their relations on the same  
terms that he had agreed on with Bostar, but in name  
of the Romans, not of the Carthaginians. So that  
the former gained greater favor with the Spaniards  
than the latter would have done from the same action.  
For as the Spaniards had found the Carthaginians se-  
vere and proud masters in their prosperity, they would  
have been looked on as relaxing of their rigor now  
through fear occasioned by a change of fortune.  
Whereas the Roman, unknown before, had at his  
first coming begun with an act of clemency and ge-  
nerosity. So that Abelox, who was a wise man,  
seemed to have changed friends for good reasons.  
In



In consequence all Spain with one consent begun to revolt, and had immediately proceeded to hostilities, had not they been prevented by the approach of winter, which obliged both the Romans and Carthaginians to retire into quarters.

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THESE were the occurrences in Spain during the second year of the Punic war, whilst the wise delays of Fabius gave the Romans in Italy time to breathe after their losses. At the same time that Hannibal was extremely vexed to see the Romans had at length chosen a general, who made war by rule, and not by chance, the dictator's conduct was despised both in the city and in the army, especially when in his absence, the general of the horse by his rashness rather gained a slight advantage, than a complete victory. Two other circumstances contributed to render the dictator more odious to them. First a stratagem of Hannibal's, who, having been shewn, by deserters, an estate belonging to the dictator, gave orders, while he levelled all around it with the ground, not to commit any act of hostility on it, by fire, sword or otherwise, to make them suspect that he spared it as a recompence for some secret agreement between them. The second took it's rise from an action of his own, which might at first indeed seem suspicious, because he did not wait for the senate's approbation of it, but in the end certainly turned out much to his praise. In the cartel for exchange of prisoners, it was stipulated, as it had been in the first Punic war between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that which ever side should receive more prisoners than they gave, should pay two pound and a half<sup>a</sup> of silver per head. The number received by the Romans exceeded that restored to the Carthaginians by 247, and the payment of the money due for them, after much debate in senate, was refused, because Fabius had not consulted the senate. Wherefore he sent his son Quintus to Rome to sell the estate which the enemy had spared, and discharged a pub-

<sup>a</sup> 8 l. 1 s. 5 d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Arbuthnot.



lic debt out of his private purse. The Carthaginian lay encamped before the walls of Geronium, a city which he had taken and set on fire, and where he left a few houses standing, to serve as magazines. From hence he detached two thirds of his army to forage, and staid with the other third part ready in arms both as a guard to the camp, and to support the foragers in case they should be attacked.

THE Roman army was then in the territory of Larinum<sup>a</sup>, and commanded by Minucius, general of horse, in the absence of the dictator, who, as already observed, had gone to Rome. But it had now come down from the eminences and secure posts and incamped in the plain. Minucius meditated rash enterprizes suitable to his genius, either to fall on the foragers while dispersed, or attack the enemy's camp, where only an inconsiderable guard had been left. Hannibal clearly perceived, that the change of generals had changed the nature of the war, and that the enemy would act with greater rashness than precaution. He, which is scarce credible, though the enemy had approached so near him, detached one third of his army to forage and kept the other two in the camp. Then he dislodged and encamped on an eminence in sight of the enemy, about two miles from Geronium, in order to make them sensible, that he was ready to support his foragers in case they should be attacked. Then he discovered another eminence nearer, which commanded the Roman camp. If he had gone in open day to seize this post he had certainly been prevented by the Romans who were nearer it. For this reason he detached his Numidians secretly in the night, and they possessed themselves of it. But the Romans, despising their small number, dislodged them next day and encamped on it themselves. There was now but a small space between the two camps, and that wholly occupied by the Roman infantry while their cavalry and light-armed troops sallying out at the back gate of the camp, which did not face the Carthaginian's, flew and put

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<sup>a</sup> In the duchy of Milan.



CHAP. to flight his foragers dispersed in the fields. Hanni-  
 xxiv. bal durst not engage the legions, because he had scarce  
 men sufficient to defend his camp in case it should be  
 attacked. As part of his forces were absent, he was  
 obliged to have recourse to Fabius's shifts, to lye still  
 and keep the enemy at bay, and to retire into his for-  
 mer camp before the walls of Geronium. Some say  
 there was a general battle, and that the Carthaginian  
 was defeated at the first charge and pursued to his  
 camp, from whence he sallied all of a sudden, and in  
 his turn put the Romans into confusion. But the bat-  
 tle was reinstated by the coming up of a Samnite,  
 Numerius Decimus. He was the most considerable  
 man, both for his birth and riches, not only in Bo-  
 vianum, where he was born, but in all Samnium,  
 and by order of the dictator was marching to the  
 camp with 8000 foot and 500 horse. When Hannibal  
 saw this corps appear in the rear, each side thought  
 it a new reinforcement for themselves. But the Car-  
 thaginian, imagining Fabius was coming in person  
 from Rome, and being afraid of falling into an am-  
 buscade, sounded a retreat. The Romans pursued,  
 and by the aid of the Samnite took two forts that  
 very day. 6000 Carthaginians and 5000 Romans  
 were slain. Notwithstanding the loss was so near  
 equal, yet at Rome this was reported as a signal victo-  
 ry, and the general of horse sent letters full of vain  
 glory.

CHAP. THERE was much debate both in the senate  
 xxv. house and assembly of the people on this subject.  
 Amidst the universal joy of the city Fabius, alone,  
 believed neither the report nor the letters, and though  
 every thing reported had been true, yet he said he  
 apprehended more from the success of Minucius, than  
 if he had been defeated. Upon this M. Metilius, a  
 tribune of the people, cried out, ' that this was not  
 ' to be born. The dictator was not contented with  
 ' having prevented gaining any advantage when he  
 ' was present in the field, but even declared against  
 ' what was actually gained in his absence. He only  
 ' protracted



‘ protracted the war on purpose to gain time, that he  
 ‘ might continue longer in office, and be sole com-  
 ‘ mander both in Rome and the army. For one of  
 ‘ the consuls had been killed in battle, the other sent  
 ‘ far out of Italy, under pretext of pursuing the Car-  
 ‘ thaginian fleet, and two prætors employed in Sicily  
 ‘ and Sardinia, neither of which provinces stood in  
 ‘ need of these officers at that juncture. He had in  
 ‘ a manner kept M. Minucius, general of horse, in  
 ‘ fetters, in order to prevent his looking the enemy  
 ‘ in the face, or performing any military exploit.  
 ‘ For this reason in truth not only Samnium was  
 ‘ yielded to the Carthaginians, as if it had been a  
 ‘ province beyond the Ebro, but the territories of  
 ‘ Campania, Cale, and Falernum were laid waste,  
 ‘ while the dictator lay idle at Casilinum, and protect-  
 ‘ ed his own estate with the Roman army. When the  
 ‘ troops and general of the horse ardently desired a  
 ‘ battle, they were pent up in their entrenchments,  
 ‘ and their arms taken from them, as if they had  
 ‘ been prisoners to the enemy. At length, when by  
 ‘ his departure they were set at liberty, they had  
 ‘ marched against, defeated and put to flight the  
 ‘ enemy. For which reasons, if the Roman people  
 ‘ had had the courage of their forefathers he would  
 ‘ boldly have moved them to divest Fabius of his of-  
 ‘ fice; but at this time he would only make a very mo-  
 ‘ dest motion, that they would give the dictator and  
 ‘ general of the horse equal authority, and at the same  
 ‘ time not to send Fabius back to the army, till he  
 ‘ had elected a consul in room of Flaminius.’ As  
 the dictator did not affect popular applause, he for-  
 bore coming to the assemblies of the people. Nay  
 he was not heard with patience in the senate, when he  
 cried up the enemy’s forces, and attributed the de-  
 feats of the two last years to the rashness and inex-  
 perience of the generals. He said ‘ he would call  
 ‘ the general of horse to an account for fighting con-  
 ‘ trary to his orders. Since he had the supreme authority  
 ‘ and direction, he would soon make men sensible,  
 ‘ that



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‘ that fortune was of small moment to an able general,  
 ‘ and that reason and good conduct were sufficient.  
 ‘ For his part, he deemed it a greater glory to have  
 ‘ saved an army, at a seasonable conjuncture and  
 ‘ without ignominy, than to have killed many thou-  
 ‘ sands of enemies.’ After haranguing in this man-  
 ner to no purpose, and having chosen M. Atilius Re-  
 gulus consul, the night before the people were to  
 give their suffrages upon the tribune’s motion, he set  
 out for the army, lest if he was present he should  
 assert his right. Early in the morning the people  
 assembled, and though they were prejudiced against  
 the dictator and zealous for the general of horse,  
 yet scarce any of them had courage enough to stand  
 up and speak in favor of a motion which was agreea-  
 ble to them all. Their zeal for carrying it was greater  
 than what was necessary, but at the same time there  
 wanted one of credit to support it. C. Terentius  
 Varro, who had been prætor the preceding year,  
 spoke in favor of the bill. This man was not only  
 meanly descended, but even of the dregs of the peo-  
 ple. It is reported his father was a butcher, who  
 used to go about to the markets, and brought up his  
 son to the same servile employment.

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THIS youth, whose father left him great sums  
 he had gained by his trade, began to hope for some  
 more genteel business. He liked to frequent the  
 bar and assemblies of the people, and by pleading  
 the causes of the vilest fellows against persons of for-  
 tune and reputation, he first made himself known to  
 the people, and then raised himself to honourable  
 offices. After having enjoyed the questorship, both  
 plebeian and curule ædileships, and the prætorship,  
 he began to conceive hopes of obtaining the consulate,  
 and craftily took advantage of their hatred to the  
 dictator to gain the favor of the people, by which  
 he had all the merit of the ordinance they then  
 passed. Every body both in the city and army,  
 friends and foes, looked on the passing this bill as  
 the greatest affront could be offered the dictator.



But he bore this injury of the people, who were enraged against him, with the same temper and constancy as he had done the slanders of his enemies, when they accused him to the multitude. He received the letters with advice of the decree dividing the command equally, on the road; and being well assured that by thus dividing the command they had not divided ability in the art of commanding, he returned to the camp with a resolution no less invincible to his fellow citizens than by the enemy.

BUT Minucius, whose arrogance on account of his success and the favor of the people was already scarce supportable, now observed no mean, insolently boasting, that he had conquered Fabius as well as Hannibal. ‘This unparallel’d general, said he, who was their sole resource in the desperate state of their affairs, and fought out as the only match for Hannibal, this superior magistrate, this dictator, had, by an ordinance of the people, of which there was no example in their annals, seen his inferior, his general of horse, become his equal in a state, where the generals of horse were accustomed to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the dictator; with such dazzling lustre had his valor and good fortune exhibited themselves. If the dictator persisted in a slow and timorous conduct, condemned both by Gods and men, he would pursue his good fortune.’ In consequence of this, the first day he met Fabius he told him, ‘that preferable to every thing else they ought to determine in what manner they should execute the command with which they were equally vested. In his judgment it was best, that each of them should have the chief command of all the army alternately for one day, or a longer time if it was thought proper, that in case any had a good opportunity of coming to action, they might be equal to the enemy both in counsel and force.’ Fabius did not relish this proposal. He judged, ‘that every thing, which should be in the power of his impetuous colleague, would lie at the mercy of fortune. He was indeed obliged to give



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him an equal share of the command, but not to yield it entirely to him. Therefore he would never willingly fail to manage his part of affairs with prudence. He would not divide the command with him for days or any limited time whatever, but he would the army itself; and since he could not preserve the whole, he would save what he could of it, by a prudent conduct.' Then they divided the legions between them in the same manner as the consuls used to do. Minucius got the first and fourth, and Fabius the second and third legions. The cavalry and Latine auxiliaries were also equally divided. The general of horse likewise chose to encamp separately.

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THESE transactions gave a double joy to the Carthaginian, who knew perfectly every thing that passed amongst the enemy by means of deserters and spies. He considered Minucius now unlimited as an assured prey by his rashness, and the prudent Fabius as deprived of half his force. Between Minucius's and the Carthaginian camp was an eminence, which without question would be of great advantage to the side which could seize it. Though Hannibal knew the importance of this post, yet he did not chuse to take it without a skirmish, but hoped to make it the occasion of bringing on a general action with Minucius, who he well knew to be always ready to resist him. All the plain between seemed incapable of ambuscade, as there was not only no woods on it, but not the least vestige of a shrub. And yet it was naturally formed for ambuscades, and the rather as none could suspect any snare in so naked a valley; for there were in the corners of it several cavities, some of which were capable of containing 200 men. In these lurking places the Carthaginian put 5000 horse and foot, as many in each place as could conveniently lye concealed. And lest in this open plain the glittering of the arms, or any one's incautiously moving out of his concealment, should discover the ambuscade, to divert the enemy's attention another way, early in the morning he sent a small detachment to

seize



seize the forementioned eminence. At first sight the Romans despised this corps for the smallness of their number, and each demanded to go and dislodge it. Minucius himself, as foolish and forward as any, founded a charge, and vainly braved and threatened the enemy. First he sent out his light-armed troops, then his cavalry in one compact body, and at last, when he saw supports sent to the enemy, marched out in person with his legions in order of battle. Hannibal, wherever he saw his men hard put to it, and the battle growing hotter, sent reinforcement after reinforcement both of horse and foot, till the action became general, and the whole forces on both sides were engaged. The first brigade of light-armed Romans, that advanced up the hill already possessed by the enemy, were beat back, in their rout put the horse that followed them into confusion, and retired to the legions. The infantry alone remained intrepid amidst their terrified troops, and so much were they animated by their success a few days before, that it appeared, they would have disputed the victory bravely if the field of battle had not been so disadvantageous to them. But the troops in ambuscade rising up all of a sudden, and charging in the flanks and rear, created such confusion and consternation, that none of them had courage to fight, or hopes of saving themselves by flight.

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\* AS soon as Fabius heard the cries of those that were terrified, and saw at a distance their battle in disorder, he cried, ‘ Ill fortune hath overtaken rashness, nor hath it so happened sooner than I apprehended. The man who had an equal command with Fabius, sees Hannibal superior to him both in bravery and fortune. But let us refer our reproaches and resentments to another opportunity. Let us now march out of our lines and wrest the victory from our enemies, and a confession of their error from our fellow citizens.’ While great numbers were slaughtered, and others looking about for a way to escape, Fabius’s troops, as if sent from heaven,

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heaven, appeared marching to their relief. Before the dictator came within reach of a dart or could come to blows, he stopped the Romans, who were flying in disorder, and likewise the enemy from charging furiously. The Romans, who, after their ranks were broke, dispersed up and down, every where joined this entire body. Those who had fled in whole brigades faced the enemy, and drawing up in a half moon retreated by degrees, and sometimes halted in a close order, till the defeated troops and those that were entire forming but one body, advanced together against the enemy. But the Carthaginian sounded a retreat, openly acknowledging that he had beaten Minucius, but himself been beaten by Fabius. Thus the greatest part of the day passed in bringing about these different events. As soon as the armies were returned to their camps, Minucius assembled his troops and said, ‘ I have often heard, fellow soldiers, that he is the person of greatest merit, who can act aright without the advice of others : in the next rank to him is he who can obey and put in practice good advice : but he who knows neither how to advise nor obey is considered as the weakest genius. Since therefore we are not so happy as to possess the first accomplishment of mind and temper, let us content ourselves with being in the second rank and observing a medium. And till we learn how to command, let us resolve to obey one whose wisdom enables him to do it. Let us rejoin Fabius. When we have reached his tent, where I shall have saluted him by the name of father, a title he merits both by the great services he has done us, and by his rank, do you, fellow soldiers, salute, with the compellation of patrons, those troops whose arms and right hands delivered you. And if we shall reap nothing else from this day’s action, it will at least give us the glory of being grateful.’

ON this he made a signal to pack up the baggage, strike their tents, and marching to the dictator’s camp, their



their approach struck both him and all about him with surprize. After he had caused his ensigns to halt before Fabius's tent, the general of horse stepped out before the rest, and whilst he saluted the dictator with the name of father, all the army saluted the troops that stood round with the title of preservers. Then Minucius spoke as follows, ' To my parents, ' dictator, (with whom I have just now equalled you, ' by giving you the same title, which is all words ' can do) I owe my being, but to you I am indebted ' for the preservation of my own life and the lives of ' all these soldiers. Therefore I will willingly re- ' nounce and cancel that ordinance of the people ' which was rather a burden than an honor to me. ' I again put myself under your command and ' auspices, which I pray may be beneficial to you ' and to me, to these your armies, the one of which ' was preserved by the other. I beg you would be ' reconciled to me, and permit me to continue your ' general of horse, and these men to retain their ' ranks.' Then they embraced, and when the assembly was dismissed, the soldiers were kindly and civilly entertained by the dictator's men, whether acquainted or not. Thus the day, which a little before proved so sad and almost quite fatal, ended with great joy. As soon as the news of what had passed arrived at Rome, and was confirmed by letters from both officers and soldiers of the two armies, every person extolled Maximus to the skies. Hannibal and the Carthaginians did as much justice to his reputation, and then first came to be sensible, that they made war against Romans and in Italy. For during the two preceding years they had conceived so great contempt for both Roman generals and soldiers, that they could scarce believe they were fighting with the same nation, of whom their fathers had left them so terrible an idea. Nay there is a tradition, that Hannibal should have said as he was retiring from the battle, ' that the cloud, which had been long accustomed to ' settle on the tops of the hills, had at length fallen ' down in the most tempestuous shower.'

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xxx.



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XXXI.

DURING these transactions in Italy, the consul Cn. Servilius Geminus having, with 120 galleys, cruised round the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica, and received hostages from both, passed over into Africa. But before he made a descent there, he laid waste the island of Meninx<sup>a</sup>, and received ten talents of silver from the inhabitants of Cercina<sup>b</sup>, not to burn and plunder their lands. Then he approached the shores of Africa, and landed his troops. The soldiers were set to plunder, and the mariners dispersed as if they had been ravaging islands destitute of inhabitants. By this means they fell into an ambuscade, and being dispersed and unacquainted with the country, they were surrounded by a superior number who knew the places, and drove them, after great slaughter, most shamefully to their ships. About 1000 men with Sempronius Blæsus a quæstor were killed, and the fleet weighing in a hurry from a coast full of enemies stood away for Sicily. At Lilybæum the consul delivered up the fleet to T. Otacilius the prætor, that his lieutenant P. Sura might carry it back to Rome. He himself marched over Sicily by land, and passed the Streights into Italy. Fabius wrote for both him and his colleague M. Atilius to come and take upon them the command of the army, as his commission, which was only for six months, was on the point of expiring. Almost all the Roman annals have it that Fabius acted in quality of dictator against Hannibal. Coelius likewise says, that at the first he was created dictator by the people. But both Coelius and the rest forget, that Servilius, the surviving consul, who was then abroad in his province of Gaul, had the sole right of nominating a dictator: but as the city, by reason of it's consternation on account of the defeat, could not wait till he could be present, they had recourse to this device, that the people should elect a pro-dictator. At last, on account of the exploits, glorious renown, and posterity's augmenting the inscription on his statue, it naturally happened that instead of pro-dictator Fabius was called dictator.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 356.<sup>b</sup> Now *Cercare*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*.



THE consuls, M. Atilius at the head of Fabius's army, and Geminus Servilius at the head of Minucius's, fortified early their winter quarters, for it was then autumn, and carried on the war with harmony, according to the plan of the prudent Fabius. When the Carthaginians went out a foraging, they fell on them at advantage, either suddenly cutting off their detachments, or intercepting them when dispersed, but never risked a general action, which the enemy used all their art to draw them into. By this conduct Hannibal was reduced to such straits for provisions, that if he had not been afraid it would look like a flight, he would have returned into Gaul; for he had lost all thoughts of subsisting his army in these parts, if the consuls of the next year should prosecute the war on the same plan. As the approach of winter put a stop to hostilities between the two armies which were then near Geronium, deputies from Naples arrived at Rome. They brought into the senate house forty cups of massy gold, and said, 'They were sensible that the Roman treasury was exhausted by the expences of the war. And whereas the war was sustained for the preservation of the cities and lands of the allies, as well as for Rome, the citadel and capital of Italy, and for its dominion, the people of Naples thought it reasonable to assist the Romans with that which their ancestors had left them both for ornament to their temples, and for their relief in adversity. If they thought them capable of affording them any other help, they would afford it with the same readiness as they did the gold. The greatest favor the Roman senators and people could do them would be to consider every thing belonging to the Neapolitans as their own, and honor them so far as to accept a present, which was not so valuable in itself, as by the intention and good will of the free donors.' The deputies were thanked for their liberality and respect. But the senate accepted only of the cup of least weight,



## CHAP.

XXXIII.



AT this time a Carthaginian spy was discovered at Rome, where he had lurked for two years. He was dismissed, after having his hands cut off. Twenty-five slaves were crucified, for having formed a conspiracy in the field of Mars. The discoverer had his liberty, and 20000 asses<sup>a</sup> of brass given him. Embassadors were sent to Philip king of Macedon, to demand Demetrius the Pharian, who had taken refuge in his dominions after he was conquered. Other deputies were sent to the Ligurians, to expostulate with them for having supplied the Carthaginians with provisions and auxiliary troops; at the same time to take a nearer view of what was in agitation among the Boii and Insubrians. An embassy was likewise sent to Pineus king of Illyricum, to demand the tribute he owed, as the day on which it should have been paid was elapsed; or hostages, in case he desired a longer day. These steps clearly demonstrate, that, notwithstanding the great war they were involved in, the Romans never neglected their affairs in any part of the world, however remote. Then they turned their thoughts to religious affairs. The prætor Manlius two years before had vowed a temple to Concord, on account of a mutiny of the soldiers in Gaul; but the place for erecting it had not hitherto been assigned. Therefore duumvirs, Cn. Pupius, and Cæso Quinctius Flaminius, were nominated by the prætor M. Æmilius to mark out the ground, and build the temple within the citadel. The same prætor, by order of the senate, wrote to the consuls, that if they thought proper, one of them should come to Rome to hold the elections. The consuls wrote back, ‘ that they could not leave the enemy  
 ‘ without detriment to the republic. For this reason it  
 ‘ was better to have an interrex to preside in the comitia, rather than that either of the consuls should be  
 ‘ taken off from the war.’ The fathers thought it more advisable to nominate a dictator to hold the comitia. L. Veturius Philo was nominated, and chose M. Pomponius Matho his general of horse.

L. Viturius  
 Philo dicta-  
 tor, M.  
 Pomponius  
 Matho ge-  
 neral of  
 horse.



But for want of some formality in their nomination, they were ordered to abdicate fourteen days after, and the affair was committed to an interrex.

THE consuls were continued in their command CHAP. for the year. C. Claudius Centho son of Appius, xxxiv. and then P. Cornelius Afina, were chosen interreges by the senate. The latter held the comitia, in which there was a hard struggle between the senators and people. The commons endeavored to raise to the consulate C. Terentius Varro, a man of their own rank, who had gained their favor by calumniating the chief men, and other popular practices; in particular by the stroke he had given to the authority of Q. Fabius, and the dictatorial power. The fathers opposed them with the utmost vigor, not to give men a precedent of raising themselves to an equal rank with them by defaming them. Q. Bæbius Herennius, tribune of the people, and a relation of C. Terentius, by accusing, not only the senate, but the augurs, of forbidding the dictator to hold the comitia, and by rendering them odious, gained this candidate great interest. ‘ The nobility, who, by de-  
‘ firing war for many years had brought Hannibal  
‘ into Italy, fraudulently protracted the war, when  
‘ they might have driven him thence with complete  
‘ four legions, with which they might have attacked  
‘ him. This was evident from the superiority M.  
‘ Minucius had gained in the absence of Fabius.  
‘ Two legions had been exposed to be slaughtered  
‘ by the enemy, and then rescued from the sword,  
‘ that he, who had forbid the Romans to conquer  
‘ before he had saved them from being conquered,  
‘ might be saluted their father and protector. Then  
‘ the consuls, by following Fabius’s plan, had pro-  
‘ tracted the war, when they might have terminated  
‘ it. This was done by concert among all the nobi-  
‘ lity, and the war would never be ended till a true  
‘ plebeian, i. e. a new man, was elected consul. For  
‘ the plebeians, who by having born dignified offices  
‘ were become noble, had imbibed the patrician  
‘ spirit,



CHAP. spirit, and contemned the people as soon as they  
 xxxiv. themselves ceased to be despised by the nobility.  
 Who did not clearly see that the reason why they  
 fought and appointed an interregnum, was that  
 the patricians might have the election entirely in  
 their power. It was this both consuls aimed at by  
 staying with the army. Afterwards, when a dic-  
 tator was nominated to hold the comitia, they had  
 brought it so to pass, that the augurs declared the  
 dictator not duly elected. Let them then have  
 their interregnum; yet certainly the Roman people  
 have a right to one consul's place, and would use  
 their liberty in bestowing it on a man, who chose  
 rather to conquer in earnest than enjoy a command  
 long.'

CHAP. THESE speeches so enflamed the commons, that  
 xxxv. though there were three patrician candidates, P. Cor-  
 nelius Merenda, L. Manlius Volso, and M. Æmilius  
 Lepidus, and two plebeians, C. Atilius Serranus, and  
 Q. Ælius Pætus, the one of whom was pontiff, and  
 the other augur, yet C. Terentius Varro was chosen  
 consul alone, that he might preside in the comitia for  
 choosing his colleague. Then the nobility having found  
 by experience that patrician candidates had but small  
 interest, obliged L. Æmilius Paullus to offer himself.  
 He had been consul before with M. Livius, and  
 when his colleague was fined on an invidious indict-  
 ment<sup>a</sup>, had escaped the same fate with great diffi-  
 culty. On this account he was bitterly set against  
 the commons, and made great and long repugnance  
 to standing competitor. However, on the next day  
 of election, all Varro's other competitors declined,  
 and he was given rather as an antagonist than a col-  
 league to the consul. Then the election of prætors  
 came on, and M. Pomponius Matho, and P. Furius  
 Philo were chosen. The administering justice in the  
 city fell by lot to the former, and the judging causes  
 between citizens and foreigners fell to the latter. Two  
 other prætors were added, M. Claud. Marcellus, who

C. Terent.  
 Varro, L.  
 Æmilius  
 Paullus,  
 consuls.

Y. of R. 536.  
 B. J. C. 216.



had Sicily assigned as his province, and L. Posthumus Albinus, who had Gaul. They were all chosen in their absence, and of all the magistrates elected that year, Varro was the only one who had an honorable office conferred on him, which he had not exercised before; for several brave and able men were passed by, because in the present critical conjuncture it was not thought convenient to prefer any one to offices, who had not borne any before.

THE armies likewise were augmented. But authors differ so extremely about the number and quality of the additional troops, that we scarce dare venture to affirm positively, how many horse and foot were added. Some say, there was a new augmentation of 10000 men. Others, of four legions, that they might have eight effective ones. They likewise augmented the number of horse and foot in the legions. Each had 1000 additional foot and 100 horse, so that it consisted now of 5000 foot and 300 horse. The allies were ordered to furnish a double number of horse, and an equal number of foot. Some authors say that the Roman army at the battle of Cannæ amounted to 87200 men. However all agree that the Romans acted with greater vigor and force than they had the preceding years of the war, because the dictator had given them proof, that it was in their power to conquer the enemy. But before the new legions moved from the city, the decemvirs were ordered to go and inspect the Sybilline books, because the generality of people were terrified with new prodigies. It was reported, that it had rained stones at the same time on the Aventine hill at Rome, and at Aricia: in the country of the Sabines hot waters, with much blood, had issued out of a fountain, which presaged much bloodshed. This latter enhanced the terror by happening frequently. Besides, in the street Fornicata, leading to the field of Mars, several persons were struck dead with lightning. Expiations prescribed in the sacred books were used for these prodigies. Deputies from Pæstum<sup>a</sup> brought

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<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii. p. 331. a.



brought golden cups to Rome. They were thanked in like manner as the Neapolitans had been, but their present was not accepted.

CHAP. ABOUT the same time arrived in the port of  
xxxvii. Ostia a fleet loaded with provisions from king Hiero.

The Syracusan deputies being introduced to an audience of the senate, made the following speech.

‘ King Hiero could not have been more afflicted  
 ‘ with any calamity that could have befallen him-  
 ‘ self and kingdom, than he was with the news of  
 ‘ the death of Flaminius and the loss of his army.  
 ‘ Therefore, though he was sensible that their great-  
 ‘ ness of soul was more admirable in adversity than  
 ‘ in prosperity, yet he thought himself in duty  
 ‘ bound to send them all those aids, which good  
 ‘ and faithful allies usually supply in time of war,  
 ‘ and earnestly beg’d of the conscript fathers, not  
 ‘ to refuse to accept of his present. First he brought  
 ‘ as a happy omen of success, a Victory of gold  
 ‘ weighing 320 pounds, requesting they might ac-  
 ‘ cept, keep and hold it as their own for ever. He  
 ‘ had likewise brought 300000 bushels of wheat,  
 ‘ 200000 of barley, that they might not want pro-  
 ‘ visions, and would bring to whatever place they  
 ‘ should appoint any quantity more that they should  
 ‘ want. Hiero knew, that the Roman people ne-  
 ‘ ver employed any but Roman or Latine soldiers.  
 ‘ But as he had seen foreign light armed troops in  
 ‘ their camps, he had sent 1000 archers and slingers,  
 ‘ a corps fit to oppose the Baleares, Moors and other  
 ‘ nations which fight with missile weapons.” To  
 these presents they also added this wholesom advice;  
 ‘ that the prætor, who should have Sicily for his  
 ‘ province, should pass over into Africa with a  
 ‘ fleet, that the enemy by having the war in their  
 ‘ own country, might be less at leisure to send aid  
 ‘ to Hannibal.’ The senate replied to this embassy  
 of the king, ‘ Hiero has acted the part of a gene-  
 ‘ rous prince, and faithful ally. Ever since he had  
 ‘ entered into an alliance with them, he had unal-  
 ‘ terably



terably maintained his fidelity, and in every place  
and on every occasion assisted their state most libe-  
rally. This the Romans are as sensible of as they  
ought. The Roman people had refused the gold  
brought them by other states, having only accept-  
ed their good will. But they accepted his Victory  
as a happy omen, and for an habitation to that  
God they appointed the capitol, and in it the tem-  
ple of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings ;  
that being consecrated in that fortress of Rome, he  
might ever be propitious, and remain faithful and  
firmly attached to the Roman people.' The sling-  
ers, archers and corn were delivered to the consuls :  
25 quinqueremes were added to the fleet, which the  
proprætor T. Otacilius was to carry into Sicily, and  
he had a discretionary power to pass over into Africa,  
in case he thought it for the interest of the state.

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AFTER the levies were completed, the consuls  
waited a few days for the coming up of the Latine  
auxiliaries. Then the legionary tribunes obliged the  
soldiers to take an oath to rendezvous at the com-  
mand of the consuls, and not to leave their colors  
without their leave ; a thing that had never been  
done before. For hitherto they had required nothing  
more than the usual military oath, when the troops  
were formed into decurios and centuries ; each decu-  
rio of cavalry, and each century of foot, swore vo-  
luntarily among themselves not to abandon their co-  
lors by flight or through fear, nor move out of their  
ranks, unless to bring or take up a weapon, to smite  
an enemy, or save the life of a citizen. This, which  
was formerly a voluntary oath, was now transferred  
from the tribunes, and enjoined by authority. Be-  
fore the consuls left the city, Varro made many pre-  
sumptuous speeches in the assemblies of the people.  
He insisted, ' that the war, which had been pur-  
posely drawn into Italy, would remain in the bow-  
els of their dominions, if they had more generals  
of the same character with Fabius ; but he himself  
would put an end to it the very day he should come  
in

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XXXVIII.



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‘ in fight of the enemy.’ His colleague Paullus harangued the people only once on the evening before his departure. But his speech was not so agreeable to the people, as it was full of truth. He made no reflections on Varro, except in expressing his surprize, ‘ how any general, before he knew his own or the enemy’s troops, the situation of places, the nature of the country, could know, while he was yet in the city, how he would act at the head of his troops, and even beforehand tell the day, on which he should give the enemy battle. As to himself, he would not beforehand and prematurely form those resolutions, which circumstances ought to determine for men, rather than that men should determine circumstances by their resolutions. He wished what was conducted with prudence and caution might prosper. As to rashness, besides the folly attending it, it had hitherto been unfortunate.’ This was a plain demonstration, that Æmilius was inclined to prefer safe to precipitate measures. But to engage him stedfastly to persevere in this resolution, Fabius made him the following speech at his departure.

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‘ If you, L. Æmilius, had a colleague like yourself, which I wish was the case, or if you yourself were like your colleague, this my speech would be to no purpose. For if you were both good consuls, you would in every respect act sincerely for the benefit of the commonwealth, without my advice. And were you bad you would despise my words, and not ponder them in your breasts. But considering the character of your colleague, and your worth, I address myself only to you, whose virtue and love of your country, I fear will be without effect, while the republic is so ill supported on the other side. The evil measures that shall be taken by Varro will be supported by power and authority as well as the good which you shall take. For, L. Paullus, you are much deceived, if you think you will have a fiercer contest with Hanni-  
bal



bal than with C. Terentius, and I know not which  
 will prove the most formidable of the two. With  
 the former you will only have to do in the field,  
 but with the latter at all times, and in all places.  
 You are to make head against Hannibal and his le-  
 gions with your cavalry and foot; but Varro will  
 oppose you with your own soldiers. As it may be  
 ominous, I will not put you in mind of the con-  
 duct of Flaminius. Yet he did not begin to act  
 madly, till he was consul, in his province, and at  
 the head of his troops. This fellow played the  
 madman before he sued for the consulship, and now  
 he is consul, behaves like one bereaved of his sen-  
 ses, before he sees the camp or an enemy. If he  
 has raised so great storms by boasting of actions  
 and pitched battles amongst citizens in their gowns,  
 what do you imagine will he do among turbulent  
 youth in arms, where a word is no sooner uttered,  
 than the thing is put in execution? But if he give  
 battle, as he declares he will, as soon as he sees  
 the enemy, either I know nothing of military af-  
 fairs, the nature of this war, and of the enemy, or  
 another place will be more famous for our defeat  
 than the lake of Trasymene. As I have exceed-  
 ed all bounds in despising rather than courting glo-  
 ry, this is not a proper time to boast in contrast of  
 this single person. But the truth is, that the only  
 prudent method to be observed in carrying on the  
 war with Hannibal, is to prosecute my plan. Nor  
 did the event, by which fools judge, only verify  
 this, but right reason, which hath been and will be  
 unalterable, while things run in their natural chan-  
 nel. We war in Italy, at home, and in our own  
 country. Every place round us is full of citizens  
 and allies. They do, they will assist us with arms,  
 men, horses and provisions. They have already  
 given us sufficient testimony of their fidelity in our  
 adversity. Time, nay every day, makes us bet-  
 ter, wiser, and stronger. On the other hand Han-  
 nibal is in a foreign, in an enemy's country, where



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every thing is averſe to and exaſperated againſt  
 him ; far from home, far from his native country.  
 He enjoys peace neither by ſea nor land. No ci-  
 ties admit him, he has no walls to retire within.  
 He ſees nothing that he hath any property in. He  
 ſubſiſts from day to day on plunder. He has ſcarce  
 a third part left of the troops he brought over the  
 Ebro. Famine hath made more havoc in his ar-  
 my than the ſword, and the few men he has re-  
 maining he cannot ſubſiſt. Can you then queſtion  
 but we ſhall, by ſitting ſtill, conquer one whoſe  
 force daily diminifhes, who has no provisions, no  
 recruits, no money? How long was he obliged to  
 fight for Geronium, a paltry village of Apulia, as  
 if he had been defending the walls of Carthage?  
 But not to boaſt of myſelf before you alone : how  
 did the conſuls who ſucceded me, Cn. Servilius  
 and M. Atilius, elude his artifices? This, L.  
 Paullus, is the ſafe method, but our fellow citi-  
 zens, more than our enemies, will render the ex-  
 ecution of it difficult and dangerous. For your  
 ſoldiers and the Carthaginians are of the ſame mind.  
 Varro the Roman conſul, and Hannibal the Car-  
 thaginian general, ardently wiſh the ſame thing.  
 You muſt ſingly ſuſtain the attacks of two gene-  
 rals. But you will be able to ſuſtain them, if you  
 are ſufficiently fortified againſt rumors and ſtories ; if  
 you do not ſuffer yourſelf to be influenced by your  
 colleague's vain-glory, or the falſe infamy they will  
 throw on you. It is a common ſaying, that me-  
 rit may be eclipsed, but can never be totally ex-  
 tinguiſhed. The ſure way to acquire glory, is to  
 deſpiſe it. Allow them to call you cowardly in-  
 ſtead of cautious, ſlow inſtead of circumſpect, ig-  
 norant inſtead of ſkilled in the art of war. It will  
 give me greater pleaſure, to ſee you feared by a  
 ſagacious enemy, than applauded by fooliſh citi-  
 zens. The Carthaginian will deſpiſe you if you  
 put all to the hazard, but dread you if you do no-  
 thing raſhly. I do not adviſe you to be quite un-  
 active,



' active, but to be guided by right reason in all  
 ' your enterprizes, and never to rely on chance.  
 ' Manage so as to have events within the compass  
 ' of your power, and at your direction. Be ever  
 ' armed, and on your guard. Let slip no opportu-  
 ' nity of advantage, neither let the enemy have any.  
 ' He who walks cautiously has a clear and unerring  
 ' apprehension of things. Rashness is ever unguard-  
 ' ed and blind.'

THE consul replied to these arguments with a CHAP.  
 dejected countenance, being sensible what Fabius said XL.  
 was true, but difficult to be put in execution. ' If  
 ' you, said he, when dictator, found your general  
 ' of horse intolerably insolent, what strength or au-  
 ' thority shall I have to oppose a seditious and rash  
 ' colleague? In my former consulate I escaped fall-  
 ' ing the victim of popular rage with great difficul-  
 ' ty: I wish every enterprize may succeed. But if  
 ' any misfortune should happen, I will rather ex-  
 ' pose myself to perish by the swords of the enemy,  
 ' than by the suffrages of exasperated citizens.' It  
 is said that after this conversation Paullus set out at-  
 tended by the principal senators. The commons at-  
 tended their own consul, whose train was more re-  
 markable for it's number than it's dignity. As soon  
 as they arrived in the camp, and the new and old  
 army were intermixed, they formed two camps, or-  
 dering it so that the new which was likewise the least  
 should be nearest the Carthaginian, and in the old  
 the greater number and flower of the army. Then  
 they sent one of the consuls of the preceding year, M.  
 Atilius, to Rome, as he pleaded to be dismissed on  
 account of his age. To the other, Geminus Servili-  
 us, they gave the command of a Roman legion, and  
 of 2000 horse and foot of the allies in the lesser camp.  
 The Carthaginian, notwithstanding the enemy's  
 troops were augmented to double their number, was  
 extremely rejoiced on the arrival of the new consuls.  
 For he not only had nothing remaining of the provi-  
 sions which he pillaged from day to day, but no



place left from which he could get plunder, seeing after the country was not well protected, all the corn had been every where carried into fortified towns; so that, as was found afterwards, he had scarce ten days subsistence left, and the Spaniards on account of the scarcity ready to desert to the Romans, if they could have met with an opportunity early enough.

## CHAP.

XLI.



THE consul was naturally rash and of an impetuous disposition, and chance added fuel to his innate fire. For in a tumultuary engagement, which happened rather by an accidental rencounter with a party sent out to check the foragers, than of design or order of the officers, the Carthaginians were worsted and lost 1700 men. About 100 Romans and allies were killed. The consul Paullus, who commanded that day, for they commanded each a day alternately, for fear of an ambuscade restrained his victorious troops from pursuing too far. Varro in a rage exclaimed, that ‘the enemy had been allowed to escape out of their hands, and they had been completely defeated, if the pursuit had not been given over.’ Hannibal was not very much grieved at this loss. He rather looked on it as a sure bait to catch the rash and impetuous consul and his new raised troops. He knew every thing that passed in the enemy’s camp as well as in his own, that the generals disagreed and quarrelled together, and that two parts of three in the Roman army were raw undisciplined men. Convinced therefore that he had found a proper place and opportunity for an ambuscade, he decamped next night, allowing his troops to carry nothing with them but their arms, and leaving his camp full of both private and public effects. On the other side of the adjoining hills he hid his foot on the left and his cavalry on the right. He drew his baggage through a valley into the middle between the two, that he might surprise the enemy rifling the camp as if it had been deserted by it’s owners, and when they were loaded and encumbered with plunder. He left many fires burning, in order to make the enemy believe, that  
under



under a shew of being still in his camp, he intended to keep the consuls amused in these places, while he gained time to fly, in the same manner as he had deceived Fabius the preceding year.

WHEN it was light in the morning the Ro- CHAP.  
mans were at first surprized to see the enemy's guards XLII.  
removed, and, as they approached nearer, at the unusual silence in their camp. But they no sooner were absolutely certain that it was deserted than they ran in crowds to the consuls tents to inform them of the enemy's flight, which was so precipitate that they had abandoned their camp with their tents standing; and the better to conceal their flight, they had left a great many fires burning. Then they demanded with great cries that the signal should be given and they led to rife the camp immediately, and in pursuit of the enemy. And indeed one of the consuls made one in this tumult of the soldiers. Paullus again and again represented 'that they ought to keep on their guard and 'act cautiously.' At last, when he saw he could not otherwise restrain the mutiny or it's ringleader, he dispatched a præfect, M. Statilius, with a troop of Lucanian horse to reconnoitre the enemies camp. When this officer had rode up to the gates, he ordered the rest to halt without, while he with two troopers entered. After having carefully examined every thing, he made his report, that there certainly was an ambush laid; fires were left in that side of the camp next the enemy; their tents open, and their most precious effects left ready to be pickt up; in several places he had seen money lying at random in the streets, as if it had been thrown there on purpose to be carried away. These things, being told to the soldiers with a view to deter them, had a contrary effect, and enflamed them to a great degree. They set up a shout, and threatned, if the signal was not given, to go without their generals. But they did not want a leader. For Varro immediately gave the signal to march. Paullus, who lingered on purpose, seeing the sacred chickens would not peck as a happy omen, ordered



CHAP. XLII. his colleague to be informed of it just as he was marching out of the gate. Though Varro was highly offended, yet calling to mind the fate of Flaminius, and the defeat of Claudius at sea in the first Punic war, it struck him with a religious scruple. But it was certainly the Gods themselves, who rather postponed for that day only, than totally prevented the stroke that hung over the Romans heads. For it luckily happened that two slaves, one a trooper of Formiæ and the other of Sidicinum, who had been intercepted among the foragers by the Numidians, during the former consulate, made their escape that day to their masters. Being brought before the consuls, they informed them, that all the Carthaginian army was lying in ambuscade on the other side of the neighboring hills. Their seasonable arrival made the consuls be obeyed, after the ambition and ill-judged indulgence of one of them had made their authority disregarded.

CHAP. XLIII. HANNIBAL, perceiving that the Romans had rather run tumultuously together, than rashly pushed on to the last, and that his stratagem had been discovered without having taken effect, returned to his camp. There he could not stay many days for want of provisions. And not only his troops, which were a medley of different nations, began to form plots, but the general himself thought of new measures. For whereas they began with murmuring, and then openly and aloud demanded their pay, complaining first of scarcity, and at last of real famine, besides a report that the mercenaries, in particular the Spaniards, had entered into a resolution to desert the enemy, it is even said, that the Carthaginian, more than once, had thoughts of leaving his infantry behind and flying into Gaul with his cavalry. In the present disposition of his troops, he resolved to decamp, and march into Apulia, where the heat of the climate brought on the harvest more early. He reflected at the same time, that the farther he got from the enemy, the more obstruction his wavering troops would



would find in going over to them. Therefore he marched off in the night, after having lighted fires and left a few tents to deceive the enemy, and detain them, for fear of an ambuscade like the former. But the same Lucanian Statilius having searched every place beyond the camp and the mountains, and reported that he saw the enemy at a great distance, they began to deliberate about pursuing them. The two consuls now, as ever before, differed in their sentiments; but as all the rest sided with Varro, and none, except Servilius, consul of the preceding year, with Paullus, the majority carried it for marching to make Cannæ, whither an evil destiny hurried them, famous for the defeat of the Romans. Near this village Hannibal encamped with the wind Vulturnus<sup>a</sup> at his back, which in that parched climate raised clouds of dust. As this was the most commodious situation of his camp in the mean time, so it was like to prove the safest when they should come to an engagement, as they would have the wind only blowing in their backs, which would blind the enemy by driving the dust full in their faces.

THE consuls, who diligently searched the country in their march after Hannibal, no sooner arrived at Cannæ than they fortified two camps, almost at the same distance that they had been when the troops were divided before at Geronium. The river Aufidus<sup>b</sup>, which run by both camps, afforded them convenience of watering when they wanted it, but not without skirmishing. But the Romans in the lesser camp, which was on the other side of the river, had greater liberty of watering, as the enemy had no guard on that side. The Carthaginian having found, according to his wish, a place naturally suited for cavalry to act in, in which kind of forces he was invincible, drew out his troops in form to offer the consuls battle. He harassed the enemy extremely by sending out parties of Numidians. Every thing

<sup>a</sup> In the ocean it is called the *South* or the S. by S. E.

*South East* wind. In the Mediterranean the Italians call it *Oro Verfo Siraco*,

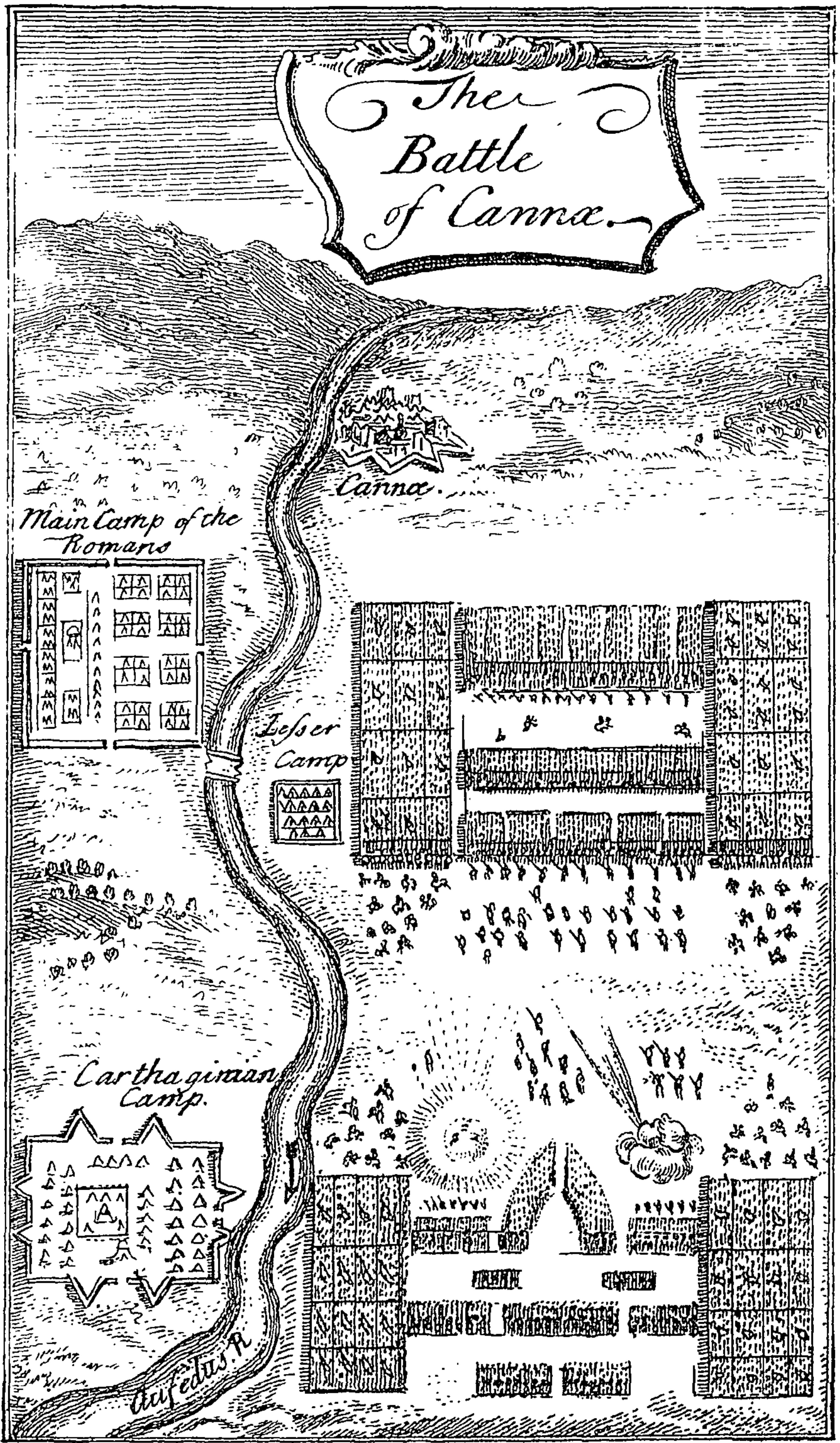
<sup>b</sup> *L'Ofanto*, rising in the *Apennines* and falling into the *Adriatic* sea.



CHAP. XLIV. was again in confusion in the Roman camp, by the mutinies of the soldiers and the misunderstanding between the generals. Paullus laid before Varro the fatal temerity of Sempronius and Flaminius. Varro, on the other hand, objected to him the example of Fabius, which could only serve as a specious pretext for not fighting to cowardly and inactive generals. He called Gods and men to witness, ‘ it was not his fault, that Hannibal had got possession of Italy, since he was chained down by his colleague : the arms were taken away from the soldiers, who were full of ardor and earnestly desired a battle.’ Æmilius replied, ‘ If any mishap should befall the legions, thus inconsiderately and precipitately exposed and hurried on to battle, though he was innocent of the crime, yet he must be an equal sharer in all the calamity which would be the issue of it. We shall see, added he, whether those who are so ready with their rash speeches, will be as active with their blows in battle.’

CHAP. XLV. WHILE they thus spent the time in altercations, rather than in forming salutary resolutions, the Carthaginian, who had kept his troops under arms ready to engage a good part of the day, retired to his camp with all except the Numidians whom he detached to fall on such Romans as were going for water from the lesser camp. They had scarce reached the bank, when, by their shouts and alarm, they put to flight that confused rabble, and rode up to the advanced guards, and even to the gates of the camp. To be thus braved in their lines by these rascally auxiliaries of the enemy, the Romans looked on as so great an affront, that nothing prevented their passing the river that instant and coming to a battle, except that Paullus commanded in chief that day. Accordingly Varro, next day, when it was his turn to command, gave the signal of battle, without advising with his colleague, and passed the river with his army ready formed. Paullus followed, because, though he did not approve his conduct, yet he could not help seconding him.







him. As soon as they got over the river they were joined by the troops of the lesser camp. Their order of battle was thus. On the right wing, close to the river, were the Roman cavalry : next them the infantry : on the left were posted the allies horse, outermost of all, with the foot within them, the dartmen were drawn up close to the legions. The other light-armed auxiliaries composed the van. The consuls commanded the wings, Terentius on the left and Æmilius on the right ; Geminus Servilius commanded in the centre.

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HANNIBAL, having sent his Balearian slingers and light-armed troops before early in the morning, passed the river, and formed his men in order of battle as they came up. In the left wing next the river he posted his Gaulic and Spanish cavalry to face the Roman knights ; his Numidian horse on the right, and his infantry in the centre ; in such a manner that the Gauls and Spaniards were in the middle of it, and the Africans in the two extremities. The Africans might have been taken for a Roman corps, so much did they resemble them in their arms, some of which they had taken in the battle of Trebia, but the greatest part in that of Thrasymen. The Gauls and Spaniards had shields of the same form, but their swords were very different and unlike. Those of the Gauls were very long and without points. But the Spaniards, whose manner is rather to thrust at, than cut an enemy, had short pointed swords, which were easy to manage. The troops of both these nations had a dreadful aspect both in effect of their extraordinary size and habit. The Gauls were naked from the navel upwards. The Spaniards had linen habits with purple borders, which made a glittering and splendid appearance. The Carthaginian army in the whole consisted of 40000 foot and 10000 horse. Asdrubal commanded the left wing and Matherbal the right. Hannibal, with his brother Mago, posted himself in the centre. Whether the armies were posted so on purpose, or by chance, cannot be determined,

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determined, but at first the sun incommoded neither, as it shone obliquely upon them both, the Romans facing to the south, and the Carthaginians to the north. The wind, which the natives of that country call Vultur-nus, blowed directly in the faces of the Romans, whom it blinded by vast clouds of dust.

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XLVII.

A SHOUT being set up, the auxiliary light-armed troops begun the battle. Then the Carthaginian left, composed of Spanish and Gaulic horse, and the Roman right wing came to an engagement. They did not charge in the manner cavalry usually do. For their front could only engage, as they had not room to practise their common evolutions and returns; and being pent up between the river on one side and the main body of foot on the other, they could only charge in a right line. At last, after they had sustained the first charge without being broke, and in very close order, they grappled with one another, dragging each other off the horses, till the greatest part came to fight on foot. This shock was furious, but not very long sustained, for the Roman cavalry being pushed, fairly run. Just as the battle between the horse ended, the foot on both sides engaged. At first the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ground in order, with a strength and courage equal to that of the enemy. But the Romans, after having long and often exerted their utmost efforts, at length, by their even and close front, repulsed this battalion formed like a wedge, the point whereof jutting out before the rest, was both thin and weak. As this body gave way and retired in confusion, the Romans advanced, and pursuing it as it fled with precipitation, penetrated the centre of the first line, and at last, as none opposed them, to the Africans in the rear, who opening to right and left advanced on both sides a little before the centre which was formed by the Gauls and Spaniards. The wedge of Gauls and Spaniards, which at first projected before the rest of the army, was first pushed even with the other parts of the front, and then, by the Romans pressing after them, bent so inwards as



to form the concave side of a crescent: so that the Africans came to be on the flanks of the Romans, who had inconsiderately been brought between them. In a little time, by extending their wings, they enclosed them behind. By this means the Romans, who had to no purpose fought one battle, left the Gauls and Spaniards, whose rear they had cut to pieces, and begun a fresh battle with the Africans. This was greatly to their disadvantage, as they who were pent up were to fight against those who had environed them, and being already wearied with fresh and unfatigued troops.

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IN the mean time the battle was begun on the left, where the cavalry of the allies were posted against the Numidians. The attack was but faint, but managed at first with Carthaginian treachery. About 500 Numidians, having, besides ordinary arms and missile weapons, swords hid under their coats of mail, rode off with their bucklers at their backs to make it believed they had deserted. All of a sudden they dismounted, and throwing down their bucklers and lances at the enemies feet, were received into the center, and from thence conducted to the rear, where they were ordered to stay. There they continued, till the battle grew hot on all quarters. But when they saw every person's attention and eyes bent another way by the battle, they caught up their shields, which lay among the heaps of slain, fell on the Romans behind, wounded them in the back, and cut them in the hams, making a terrible slaughter, but occasioning much greater consternation and confusion amongst them. Thus while the Romans on the right were frightened and fled, and their main body, reduced to despair, fought with great obstinacy, Asdrubal, who commanded on the left, took the Numidians out of the center, because they fought but faintly with the opposite party, and detached them in pursuit of the fugitives. He likewise led on the Spanish and Gaulic horse to support the Africans, who were more fatigued with slaughtering than fighting.

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ON



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ON the other side, Paullus, though at the first attack he had been grievously wounded from a sling, often made head against the Carthaginian, and protected by the Roman cavalry, reinstated the battle in several places. At length, unable through weakness to manage his horse, they dismounted. When it was told Hannibal that the consul had ordered his cavalry to quit their horses, it is reported he said, ‘ I had rather he had delivered them to me bound.’ And in truth their alighting to fight on foot was a sure evidence that the victory was the enemy’s, and though they were defeated, they chose rather to dye on the spot where they stood, than fly. The conquerors, enraged to see the victory thus hindered from being determined, cut to pieces those whom they were not able to drive from their ground. Yet they obliged a few that remained, oppressed with fatigue and wounds, to retire. Then they dispersed, and such as could remounted and fled. A legionary tribune, Cn. Lentulus, galloping along and observing the consul sitting on a stone and all over blood, said, ‘ L. Æmilius, whom the Gods ought to assist as the only person innocent of this day’s defeat, take this horse, while you have any strength remaining. I am able to mount you upon him, and to protect you. Do not enhance the sorrow of this defeat by the death of a consul. There will be grief and tears enough without this.’ To this the consul replied, ‘ I heartily thank you, Cn. Cornelius; but take care not to lose the little time you have for escaping the hands of the enemy, by a vain pity towards me. Be gone, and publickly tell the senate to fortify Rome, and put a sufficient garison in it, before the victorious Carthaginian arrive. Tell Fabius in private, that I lived and now die mindful of his salutary precepts. Suffer me to expire upon these heaps of my slaughtered soldiers, that I may not be arraigned at the expiration of my consulate, nor impeach my colleague in order to defend my own innocence at the expence of another.’ He had no sooner



sooner uttered these words, but first a multitude of  
Romans in the rout, and then the enemies in the pur-  
suit came upon him. The latter, not knowing him

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to be the consul, dispatched him with their darts. In the confusion Lentulus escaped by the swiftness of his horse. Then they all dispersed and fled. 7000 recovered the lesser, and 10000 the greater camp, and about two took refuge in the village of Cannæ. But as this village was not fortified, the latter were immediately surrounded by Carthalo with the cavalry. The other consul, whether by chance or on purpose, escaped to Venusia with about seventy troopers, without having attempted to stop the flight of any of his own men. It is said there were slain 40000 foot and 2700 horse. There fell almost as many Romans as allies. Among the dead were one of the consuls, two quæstors, L. Atilius, and L. Furius Bibaculus, twenty one legionary tribunes, several persons who had been consuls, prætors and ædiles. Among these were Cn. Cornelius and M. Minucius, who was general of horse the preceding year and consul a few years before. Besides these fourscore, who were either senators, or had exercised those offices, which gave them a legal title to be chosen into the senate, and who served as volunteers in the legions. By report 3000 foot and 300 horse were taken prisoners.

SUCH was the battle of Cannæ, which might be  
reckoned as famous for the defeat of the Romans as that  
of Allia. For though it was not so cruel with respect  
to it's consequences, since the enemy did not make the  
same speedy improvement of his success; yet with  
regard to the loss it was more terrible and shameful;  
for the flight at Allia exposed the city but saved the  
army: At Cannæ about 70 only followed the con-  
sul in his flight; while almost all the army of the other  
consul fled while he was dying. In the two camps  
were a great number of troops half-armed and without  
leaders. Those in the greater sent a message to those  
in the lesser, desiring they would come over to them  
in the night, while the enemy were fatigued with  
fighting and with carousing after their joyful victory,  
and

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CHAP. and go in a body to Canusium. Some of them  
 L. scorned this advice altogether. ‘ Why, said they,  
 ‘ do not those, who give us this invitation, come  
 ‘ themselves to us, since they can as easily join us,  
 ‘ as we them? Because the way between is infested  
 ‘ with enemies, they forsooth chuse rather to expose  
 ‘ our bodies than their own to danger.’ Others  
 were not so much displeased with the advice, as they  
 wanted courage to put it in execution. Then a le-  
 gionary tribune, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, said: ‘ Do  
 ‘ you rather chuse to be taken prisoners by a relent-  
 ‘ less and avaricious enemy, to have a price fixed on  
 ‘ your heads, and to have the buyers ask, whether  
 ‘ you are a Roman citizen or a Latine ally, that by  
 ‘ this means the Carthaginian may gain honor by  
 ‘ your misery and reproach? You are not like your  
 ‘ consul L. Æmilius, who chose rather to die ho-  
 ‘ norably, than live in dishonor; you are not  
 ‘ such citizens, as these brave men who lye dead in  
 ‘ heaps round him. But before day light overtake  
 ‘ us, and greater numbers of the enemy surround us,  
 ‘ let us break through that irregular and disorderly  
 ‘ rabble which makes a noise at our gates. By cou-  
 ‘ rage and the help of our swords we may make a  
 ‘ way, was the enemy never so close. In the form  
 ‘ of a wedge we will pass through this thin and open  
 ‘ corps, as if nothing opposed us. Wherefore fol-  
 ‘ low me all ye who wish yourselves and the repub-  
 ‘ lic well.’ As soon as he had uttered this speech,  
 he drew his sword, and with a body drawn up in  
 form of a wedge penetrated through the enemy. When  
 the Numidians lanced their weapons at their right  
 flank, which was exposed, they shifted their shields  
 to the right side, and to the number of 600 escaped  
 thus to the greater camp. Being immediately after  
 joined by a greater body, they marched safely to  
 Canusium. These things among these conquered  
 troops, were rather the effect of a couragious im-  
 pulse, and as each man was directed by inclination  
 and chance, than the result of wise deliberation, or  
 by any one’s particular order.



WHEN every body flocked round Hannibal, congratulating him on his victory, and persuading him, now he had gained so great a battle, to spend the rest of the day and the ensuing night in refreshing himself and his wearied troops, Maherbal, general of his horse, was of opinion, that he ought not to lose a moment's time : ‘ Nay, says he, that you may be sensible of what consequence this victory is, in five days, you shall sup in the capitol. Only follow me. I will go before with the cavalry, and be at Rome before they know of my coming.’ The idea of that dazzled Hannibal, and he looked on it as an affair of too great consequence, to be that instant resolved on. Therefore he replied, ‘ Maherbal, I applaud your zeal, but it requires time to consider your proposal.’ Upon this Maherbal cried out, ‘ The Gods have not given all talents to one man ! Hannibal knows how to conquer, but not how to make advantage of his victory.’ It is generally believed, that this day's delay was the preservation of the city and empire of Rome. As soon as it was light the day after they began to gather the spoils, and the sight of the carnage shocked even the enemy. Thousands of Roman horse and foot lay promiscuously according as they had been killed in the battle or in the flight. Some rising up all over blood, from among the slaughtered bodies, through the smart of their wounds by reason of the morning's frost, were killed by the enemy. Some, who were found lying with their thighs and hams cut off, made bare their necks and throats, and begged them to let out the rest of their blood. Others were found with their heads buried in the ground, where it appeared they had dug holes for the purpose, into which they had thrust their heads and suffocated themselves by throwing the mold over them. But what principally attracted every one's attention, was, a Numidian still alive lying upon a dead Roman. The nose and ears of the former were miserably torn. For the Roman, having his hands so disabled that he could not use his arms,



arms, had rose from anger to fury, and expired tearing his enemy with his teeth.

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LII.



AFTER having spent great part of the day in gathering the spoils, the Carthaginian advanced with his troops to attack the Roman lesser camp. First of all he got betwixt them and the Aufidus, and so cut off their communication with the river. But as they were all fatigued with labor and watching, and likewise covered with wounds, they surrendered sooner than he expected. The terms of the capitulation were, that they should deliver up their arms and horses, every Roman be ransomed for three hundred denarii <sup>a</sup>, every ally for two hundred <sup>b</sup>, every slave for one hundred <sup>c</sup>, and when that was paid, they might march away with a single garment apiece. Then they received the enemy into their camp, and were all put into safe custody, but the citizens and allies in different places. While the Carthaginian lost much time in this camp, those in the greater, who had either strength or spirit, to the number of 4000 foot and 200 horse, fled to Canusium, some in bodies, others dispersed through the country, which was not the unsafest way. This camp was surrendered by the cowardly and wounded on the same terms as the other. The enemy got a great booty. But except men and horses, and some silver, which was chiefly on the furniture of their saddles (for the Romans used very little table plate in the field) all the other booty was abandoned to the soldiers. Then Hannibal ordered all the dead bodies of his own men to be gathered together and buried. It is said, they amounted to 8000 men. Some authors affirm, that he caused the consul's body to be sought for and buried. An Apulian lady, called Bula, of considerable birth and riches, supplied those that fled to Canusium with provisions, clothes and necessaries for their journey; for the Canusians had only admitted them within their walls and assigned them quarters. For this generosity of her's the Romans conferred great honors on her when the war was ended.

<sup>a</sup> 9 l. 7 s. 9 d.

<sup>b</sup> 6 l. 5 s. 2 d.

<sup>c</sup> 3 l. 2 s. 7. Arbuthnot.



A M O N G them at Canusium were four legionary tribunes, Fab. Maximus of the first legion, whose father had been dictator the preceding year, L. Bibulus of the second legion, with P. Cornelius Scipio, and Appius Claudius of the third, who had but lately been ædile. By consent of them all, the chief command was conferred on P. Scipio, who was but very young, in conjunction with Ap. Claudius. While these with a few others were deliberating what measures to take in their present situation, P. Furius Philus, son of a person of consular dignity, brought them notice, ‘ That it was in vain to entertain desperate hopes, for the affairs of the republic were in a lamentable situation, and past retrieving. Several of the young nobility, with L. Cæcilius Metellus at their head, were resolved to embark and fly from Italy to some king or other.’ As this misfortune, besides it’s being of fatal consequence by following close on the back of so great calamities, was an unheard of thing, it surprized and astonished all that were present. But when they proposed deliberating on the affair, young Scipio, who was destined by the fates to terminate this war, affirmed, ‘ that there was no time for deliberation. In so desperate a case as this, we must not, says he, sit consulting, but must act, and with resolution too. Let those who wish the safety of the republic follow me in their arms. For there are our greatest enemies lodged where such designs are hatched.’ After this speech he went directly, followed by a few, to Metellus’s lodging. Having found the young noblemen, of whom he had been informed, assembled, he drew his sword, and holding it above their heads, said, ‘ I swear, that I will never abandon the Roman commonwealth, nor with my consent suffer any other of her citizens to forsake her. If I violate my oath knowingly, may thou Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings, bring me, my house, family, and all I have, to the worst of ends. I demand of you, L. Cæcilius, and of all the rest here present, to take the same



‘ oath. Whoever refuses, may be assured that against him this sword was drawn.’ Being as much terrified as if they had seen the victorious Hannibal, they all swore, and delivered themselves up to Scipio to be detained under guard.

**CHAP.** **LIV.** **A**T the time that this passed at Canusium, about 4000 horse and foot, which in the flight had been dispersed about the country, came to the consul at Venusia. The inhabitants kindly received them all into their houses, and divided them in the most suitable manner to be properly taken care of. They gave each trooper a cloak, tunic and twenty five denarii, and to each foot soldier ten denarii, and such arms as they wanted. In short, in all other respects, both in public and private, they treated them with all possible hospitality, and their state endeavored not to be outdone in generosity and acts of kindness by a single lady of Canusium. However the burden became heavier to Bula, by the great number that needed her aid, for they were now increased to ten thousand men. The moment Appius and Scipio received advice that one of the consuls was safe, they dispatched a courier to him with an account of what horse and foot they had with them, and at the same time to ask, whether he would order them to bring their troops to Venusia, or keep them at Canusium. Varro marched the troops with him to the latter, where he had some appearance of a consular army, and if he was not in a condition to defend himself in the field against the enemy, yet certainly, within the walls of Canusium. It was not known at Rome that even these remains of citizens and allies were in being: for it had been reported there, that the two consuls had been killed and their armies so entirely cut off, that not a single man remained. Never was more terror and consternation within Rome, while the city itself was safe. Therefore I will not undertake or attempt to give a description of what I can never express in words without coming short of the truth. The general talk was not now of one army being defeated

and



and one consul killed as at Thrasymene the former year, CHAP.  
 or of misfortune on the back of misfortune, but that LIV.  
 universal ruin had now overtaken them at once, for  
 two consuls and their armies were cut off, and they had  
 neither camp, general, nor troops; that Hannibal  
 was now master of Apulia, Samnium, and almost all  
 Italy. And in truth any other nation would have  
 sunk under the weight of so many calamities. Should  
 I compare, with the battle of Cannæ, the defeat of  
 the Carthaginians at the islands of Ægates, which  
 obliged them to cede Sicily and Sardinia, and to be-  
 come tributaries and vassals of the conquerors; or  
 that unfortunate battle in Africa, in which Hannibal  
 himself was afterwards crushed; they are in no re-  
 spect to be compared with it, except that the loss  
 of them was sustained with less constancy of mind.

THE prætors, P. Furius and M. Pomponius, CHAP.  
 assembled the senate in the curia Hostilia, to delibe-  
 rate on proper measures for putting Rome in a posture  
 of defence. For they did not doubt but the enemy, LIV.  
 after having utterly destroyed their two armies, would  
 advance and attack the capital, which was the only  
 work he had now remaining. Their calamities were  
 so great, and so little known, that they could fall on  
 no expedient: besides they were deafened with the  
 cries of the women, who, not knowing who was alive  
 and who dead, made great lamentations in every  
 house without exception. For this reason Q. Fabius  
 Maximus was of opinion, ' They ought to send out  
 ' expresses well mounted upon the Appian and Latine  
 ' ways, who, by interrogating some dispersed fugitives  
 ' they shall meet, may chance to get intelligence of  
 ' the fate of the consuls and armies; and in case the  
 ' immortal Gods had, in compassion of the empire,  
 ' spared any of the Roman name, to what place  
 ' the remains of these troops had retreated; what rout  
 ' Hannibal had taken after the battle, what he de-  
 ' signed, what he was actually doing, and what  
 ' might be conjectured as to his future operations.  
 ' Some active youth should be employed in enquiring



CHAP.

LV.



into and getting certain intelligence of these things. In the mean time, as they wanted magistrates, the fathers ought to make it their business, to appease the tumults and quiet the alarm in the city, keep the women from appearing in public, and oblige each of them to keep within their own houses; to restrain the lamentations of families; to cause silence in the city, and take care that all couriers with intelligence should be brought to the prætors; every one should wait at home for tidings relating to his private loss: besides they should post sentinels at the gates to hinder any one from going out, and oblige every person to rely solely for safety on the defence of the city and walls. When the tumult should be appeased, it would then be proper for the fathers to reassemble and deliberate on measures for the defence of the city.'

CHAP.

LVI.



THEY all agreed to this, and the magistrates having removed the crowd, the fathers dispersed themselves about to appease the tumult. At length letters arrived from the consul Terentius, informing them of the consul L. Æmilius's death, and the army's being cut off: that he himself was at Canusium assembling the remains of the defeat, as after a wreck at sea. That he had with him 10000 men, but of different corps and in very bad condition. The Carthaginian was still encamped at Cannæ, bargaining about the prisoners and the other plunder, in a manner very unbecoming a generous conqueror or a great general.' Then each private family was informed of it's loss, and the whole city so filled with affliction, that the annual festival of Ceres was interrupted, because it was unlawful for any person in mourning to celebrate it, and all the ladies at that time were in mourning. Therefore, that persons might not be wanting to celebrate other public and private festivals, the time of mourning was limited to thirty days, by a decree of the senate. But when the tumult in the senate was appeased, and the fathers reassembled, other letters were brought in from



from T. Otacilius, proprætor in Sicily, importing,  
 ‘ that Hiero’s kingdom was ravaged by a Carthagi-  
 ‘ nian fleet, and that when he was preparing to go  
 ‘ to his assistance, advice had been brought him,  
 ‘ that another squadron lay at Ægates ready to make  
 ‘ a descent at Lilybæum and another Roman pro-  
 ‘ vince, as soon as they should perceive that he was  
 ‘ gone to defend the coast of Syracuse. It was there-  
 ‘ fore necessary to send a new fleet, if they intended  
 ‘ to defend Sicily, and the king their ally.’

AFTER the consul’s and proprætor’s letters were read, the senate were of opinion, that M. Claudius, who commanded the fleet at Ostia, should be sent to the army at Canusium, and the consul should be wrote to to repair to Rome, after delivering the army to the prætor, as soon as he could, or the good of the republic would admit. The terror, with which so great calamities struck them, was augmented by other prodigies, but in particular by two vestals, O-pimia and Floronia, being convicted of incontinence. One of them, according to custom, was buried alive at the Colline gate ; the other laid violent hands on herself. L. Cantilius, secretary to the pontifs, now called the minor pontifs, who debauched Floronia, was by the pontifex Maximus whip’d with rods in the comitium to that degree, that he expired during the punishment. As this enormous crime was committed during so many calamities, it was turned into a portentous event, and the decemvirs were ordered to consult the Sybilline books. Q. Fabius Pictor was likewise sent to Delphos to enquire of the oracle what prayers and sacrifices would appease the incensed Gods, and when these unspeakable calamities would be at an end. In the mean time, several extraordinary sacrifices were offered as prescribed in the books of their fates. Among the rest, a male and female Gaul, and a Grecian man and woman, were buried alive in a vault lined with stone in the ox-market, a place formerly polluted with human sacrifices, but not according to the Roman rites. When the Gods were,

CHAP.

LVII.



CHAP.

LVII.

M. Junius  
Pera dicta-  
tor, Ti.  
Sempronius  
general of  
horse.

as they thought, sufficiently appeased, M. Claud. Marcellus detached from Ostia 1500 men, he had levied for the sea service, to guard Rome. He sent the third legion, which belonged to the fleet, before to Teanum in the country of the Sidicini in Apulia, and, delivering up the command of the fleet to P. Furius Philus his colleague, within a few days went by long marches to Canusium. The senate nominated M. Junius dictator, and Ti. Sempronius general of horse. These having issued orders for a levy, enlisted all the youth above seventeen years of age, and several who had not yet quitted the robe pretexta<sup>a</sup>. Of these were composed four legions and 1000 horse. They likewise sent to the allies and Latines for the contingent they were to furnish by stipulation. Arms of all kinds were ordered to be prepared, and the ancient spoils of their enemies were taken down from the temples and porticos. Want of freeborn men and necessity obliged them to make levies of a new kind. For with the public money they purchased 8000 of the young robust slaves, after enquiring of each, if he was willing to serve in the wars<sup>b</sup>, and gave them arms. They were better pleased with soldiers of this kind than with the prisoners, though they could have ransomed them at a cheaper rate.

CHAP.

LVIII.

FOR Hannibal, after the fortunate action at Cannæ, acted rather like one who had finished his conquests, than a general that had a war to prosecute. Having the prisoners brought forth, and the allies separated from the Romans, he spoke kindly to the former, and dismissed them without ransom as he had done formerly at Trebia and the lake of Trasymen. He likewise called the Romans, which he had never done before, and spoke to them in a very obliging manner. ‘He said, he did not make war on the Romans with an intention to take away their lives; he fought for glory and empire. His fathers had

<sup>a</sup> Which they did at seventeen.

<sup>b</sup> The reply they made to this

question was *Volo, I will*, and hence they got the name of *Volones*.

‘ yielded



‘ yielded to the Roman bravery, and he used his ut-  
 ‘ most endeavors to make them in their turn yield to  
 ‘ his good fortune and valor. Therefore he would  
 ‘ allow them to ransom themselves. The ransom  
 ‘ of each horseman should be 500<sup>a</sup> denarii, of each  
 ‘ foot soldier 300<sup>b</sup>, and of each slave 100<sup>c</sup>.’ Though  
 the ransom of the troopers was somewhat enhanced  
 above what they had bargained for when they sur-  
 rendered themselves; yet they with joy accepted the  
 conditions. They thought fit to chuse ten delegates  
 to send to the senate at Rome, of whose faith no o-  
 ther security was required, than to take an oath that  
 they should return. With them was sent a noble  
 Carthaginian, Carthalo, with conditions of peace, in  
 case he found the Romans inclined to treat of one.  
 After they had left the camp, one of them, who had  
 not the least of Roman in him, pretending to have  
 forgot something, and thinking thereby to evade his  
 oath, returned to the camp, and rejoined his compa-  
 nions before night. When it was reported at Rome  
 that they were on the point of arriving, the dictator  
 sent a lictor to Carthalo, to order him in his name  
 to quit the Roman territories before night.

CHAP.  
LVIII.

THE dictator, however, admitted the prisoners  
 delegates to an audience of the senate, where the  
 chief amongst them, M. Junius, spoke to the fol-  
 lowing effect. ‘ Conscript fathers, we all know,  
 ‘ that no state shews less regard for prisoners of their  
 ‘ own than our republic. But, if we are not de-  
 ‘ ceived by too good an opinion of our cause, none,  
 ‘ that ever fell into the hands of enemies, deserve  
 ‘ your neglect less than we. For we did not through  
 ‘ cowardice deliver up our arms in the field of bat-  
 ‘ tle, but when we retired to our camp, after having  
 ‘ sustained the fight till night on heaps of slaughter-  
 ‘ ed bodies. We defended our lines during the re-  
 ‘ mainder of the day and the ensuing night, not-  
 ‘ withstanding the fatigue we had undergone, and  
 ‘ the wounds with which we were covered. The

CHAP.  
LIX.<sup>a</sup> 16 l. 2 s. 11 d.<sup>b</sup> 9 l. 13 s. 9 d.<sup>c</sup> 3 l. 4 s. 7 d.



CHAP.

LIX.

next day, being invested by the victorious enemy,  
 and having our communication with the water cut  
 off, without the least hope of being able to open  
 ourselves a passage through innumerable and thick  
 ranks of our enemies, we thought it no dishonora-  
 ble crime to save some Roman troops after the bat-  
 tle of Cannæ, since we had left 50000 dead on the  
 spot; then we treated about our ransom, and sur-  
 rendered to the enemy the arms that could be of no  
 farther use to us. We had heard, that our an-  
 cestors ransomed themselves from the Gauls with  
 gold; and your fathers, though so severe as to the  
 terms of peace, sent deputies to Tarentum to treat  
 about ransoming their prisoners; and yet the bat-  
 tle at Allia with the Gauls, and that of Heraclea  
 with Pyrrhus, were not so ignominious by the  
 slaughter, as the fear and flight of our troops. The  
 plains of Cannæ are covered with heaps of dead  
 Romans; neither had we survived more than they  
 if the enemy had not quite exhausted their strength  
 and blunted their swords in slaughtering them. There  
 are even some amongst us who never quitted the field  
 of battle, but being left to guard the camp, fell into the  
 enemy's hands when it was surrendered. I do not envy  
 the good fortune or condition of any citizen or fellow  
 soldier, neither would I chuse to raise myself by  
 debasing others. But unless swiftness of foot and  
 running deserve reward, I do not think those, most  
 of whom fled from the field without arms, and did  
 not stop till they came to Venusia or Canusium,  
 merit more than we; or that they can boast of be-  
 ing able to do the commonwealth more service  
 than we. You will use them as good and valiant  
 soldiers, but the remembrance of your having ran-  
 somed and re-instated us in our country, will make  
 us even readier than they to exert ourselves in it's  
 cause. You are enlisting men of all ages and  
 ranks; I am informed that you are arming 8000  
 slaves. We are about the same number, and may  
 be ransomed at no greater price than they are pur-  
 chased



' chased at. For I should dishonor the Roman CHAP.  
 ' name, if I compared them with us in any other re- LIX.  
 ' spect. If, conscript fathers, you intend to be so  
 ' hardhearted as to have no regard to us, I think in  
 ' particular you ought to consider the character of  
 ' the enemy to whom we are to be abandoned: Is  
 ' it to a Pyrrhus, who treated his prisoners like  
 ' his guests; or to a barbarian, a Carthaginian, of  
 ' whom it can scarce be determined whether he is  
 ' most avaricious or cruel? If you saw the chains  
 ' your fellow citizens are loaded with, if you saw  
 ' their squalid and disfigured countenances, in truth  
 ' you would be no less moved with that sight, than  
 ' if on the other hand the plains of Cannæ, covered  
 ' with your slaughtered legions, were before your  
 ' eyes. You may behold the anxiety and tears of  
 ' our relations, who stand in the porch of your house  
 ' waiting your answer. If they express such rack-  
 ' ing anxiety and solicitude for us, and those who  
 ' are absent, how do you imagine those must be af-  
 ' fected, whose lives and liberty are at stake? Sup-  
 ' posing the Carthaginian, contrary to his dispositi-  
 ' on, should treat us with lenity, yet could we think  
 ' life worth enjoying, when we seem unworthy to be  
 ' ransomed by you. Formerly, prisoners dismissed  
 ' without ransom by Pyrrhus, returned to Rome;  
 ' but they returned with the principal men of our  
 ' state, who had been sent to ransom them. Shall I  
 ' return to my native country, who am esteemed of  
 ' less value than 300 deniers? Every person, con-  
 ' script fathers, has a manner of thinking peculiar  
 ' to himself. I am sensible that my life and person  
 ' are in hazard. But I am more anxious about the  
 ' danger our reputations are in, lest we should be look-  
 ' ed on as wretches condemned and rejected by you.  
 ' For the world will never believe, that you did it  
 ' to save your money.'

AS soon as he had done speaking, the crowd, CHAP.  
 which was in the comitium, set up a mournful cla- LX.  
 mor, and with extended hands beg'd the senate to re-  
 store



CHAP.

LX.

store them, their children, brothers and relations. Fear and necessity had also induced the women to join the multitude of men in the forum. Every person else being removed, the senate begun to deliberate on the affair. Never were they more divided in their opinions. Some declared for ransoming the prisoners with the public money; others, that the state ought to be at no expence, but would not oppose their ransoming themselves with their own money; and if any wanted ready money, it might be lent them out of the public treasury, provided they mortgaged their lands as security to the state. Then T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of primitive and rigorous severity, which many imagined he carried to too great a pitch, being asked his opinion, is said to have spoke as follows. ‘ Had the delegates, without attacking the reputation of others, only asked, that these prisoners now in the hands of the enemy should be ransomed, I should have given my opinion in few words. For in that case nothing more would have been necessary than to have exhorted you to have followed the example set by your fathers, an example so necessary for the maintenance of military discipline. But since they have made a merit of having surrendered themselves to the enemy, and thought it reasonable that they should not only be preferred to the prisoners taken in the field of battle, but to those who retired to Venusia and Canusium, and even to the consul C. Terentius himself, I will not suffer you, C. F. to remain ignorant of all that passed at Cannæ. And I wish, that what I am now going to say to you, was to be pronounced in hearing of that very army at Canusium, which are the best judges of every man’s cowardice and valor. At least I wish one person was here present, Sempronius, whom if they had followed they would this day have been soldiers in the Roman camp, not prisoners in the hands of the enemy. But while the greatest part of the enemy, either wearied with fighting, or rejoicing on

‘ account



‘ account of the victory, were retired to their camp, they had an entire night to force their way through. Seven thousand men in arms could open a passage through innumerable enemies, but they would neither attempt this themselves, nor follow those who did. During almost the whole night Sempronius never ceased to advise and exhort them to follow him, while they were invested by few troops, while the enemy were quiet and buried in sleep, and the darkness concealed their design. In vain did he assure them that they would reach a place of safety, and the cities of allies before day. As, deputies, in the days of our ancestors, P. Decius, a legionary tribune in Samnium, and in our own memory, during the first Punic war, Calpurnius Flamma, going with 300 volunteers to seize an eminence in the middle of the enemy, said, *Let us die, fellow soldiers, and by our death deliver the invested legions out of this ambuscade*; if, I say, Sempronius had made you this speech, and none of you had courage to second him, he would never have looked on you as brave men or Romans. He shewed you a way which led as well to safety as to glory. He would have brought you back to your native country, to your parents, wives and children. You had not even courage to save your lives! What would you have done, if you had been to die for your country? Fifty thousand Romans and allies were killed round you that day. If you could not be moved with so many examples of valor, nothing will ever move you. If so great slaughter could not induce you to despise life, nothing will. While you were free and safe you might express some desire for your country, nay while it is your country, and you members thereof. But now it is too late to desire to be in it, as you have lost your freedom and right of citizenship, are become aliens, and slaves of the Carthaginians. You would with money purchase your return to that, which you lost by cowardice and neglect of duty. You would not  
‘ listen



CHAP.

LX.



‘ listen to your countryman, Sempronius, when he  
 ‘ ordered you to take arms and follow him ; but you  
 ‘ soon after obeyed Hannibal commanding you to  
 ‘ surrender your camp and arms. But why, conscript  
 ‘ fathers, do I accuse them of cowardice, who I may  
 ‘ accuse of a crime. For they not only refused to  
 ‘ follow the tribune when he besought them, but even  
 ‘ endeavored to detain and stop him, if the un-  
 ‘ daunted men with him had not removed these  
 ‘ dastards with their drawn swords. P. Sempronius,  
 ‘ I say, was obliged to break through a body of  
 ‘ Romans, before he broke through the enemy. Does  
 ‘ our country want such citizens as these? whom if  
 ‘ the rest had resembled, we should not now have had  
 ‘ one of these alive who engaged at Cannæ. Of  
 ‘ 7000 soldiers only 600 had the heart to open them-  
 ‘ selves a passage, and returned safe with their arms  
 ‘ into their country, whilst 40000 of the enemy were  
 ‘ not able to stop them. How safely then, do you  
 ‘ think, might near two legions have got off? You  
 ‘ would have had this day 20000 men at Canusium,  
 ‘ brave and faithful troops. But now, how can these  
 ‘ be reckoned good and faithful citizens ; for brave  
 ‘ they have not called themselves? unless one could be-  
 ‘ lieve them to be so when they endeavored to hinder  
 ‘ them from breaking through, who were going to  
 ‘ open a passage with their swords : or that they will  
 ‘ hereafter be so who now envy them the safety and  
 ‘ glory which they purchased by their bravery, while  
 ‘ they are conscious that their own fear and cowardice  
 ‘ are the causes of their ignominious slavery. When  
 ‘ they had an opportunity of breaking through in the  
 ‘ dead of the night, they chose rather to wait lurking  
 ‘ in their tents till light and the enemy came. But  
 ‘ though they wanted courage to open themselves a  
 ‘ passage, yet they to be sure bravely defended their  
 ‘ entrenchments. They were besieged several nights  
 ‘ and days, defending their lines with their arms,  
 ‘ and themselves with their lines. At last, after hav-  
 ‘ ing used their utmost efforts and suffered the ex-  
 ‘ tremest



‘tremest hardships, when they had no provisions, CHAP.  
 ‘when hunger had so diminished their strength, that LX.  
 ‘they were not able to hold their arms, they were  
 ‘reduced by necessities invincible by human nature,  
 ‘and not by arms. At sun rising the enemy approach-  
 ‘ed their entrenchments; and within two hours they  
 ‘surrendered themselves and their arms without strik-  
 ‘ing a blow. This, deputies, was all the duty you  
 ‘did for two days; when you ought to have stood  
 ‘and fought in the field of battle, then you retreated  
 ‘to your camp; when you ought to have defended  
 ‘your entrenchments, you surrendered your camp;  
 ‘so that you did service neither in the battle nor in  
 ‘your lines. Shall I vote for ransoming you? who  
 ‘dallied and staid, when you ought to have forced  
 ‘a way out of your camp; who, when there was  
 ‘a necessity to stay and defend your ramparts, sur-  
 ‘rendered your camp, your arms and yourselves to  
 ‘the enemy. Conscript fathers, I can as little vote  
 ‘that these prisoners should be ransomed, as I can,  
 ‘that those, who opened themselves a passage from  
 ‘their camp through the middle of the enemy, and  
 ‘by their bravery restored themselves to their native  
 ‘country, should be delivered up to the Carthaginian.’

WHEN Manlius had done speaking, the fathers, CHAP.  
 though most of them were allied to the prisoners, LXI.  
 were moved, besides the precedent of their state,  
 which from it's beginning hitherto had never shewn  
 any indulgence to prisoners, by the expence. For  
 they were not inclined to exhaust the treasury, which  
 had already laid out great sums in purchasing and  
 arming the slaves, nor thereby to enrich Hannibal,  
 who, it was reported, was in extreme want of money.  
 When this sad answer, that the prisoners were not to  
 be ransomed, was given, the loss of so many citizens  
 excited new sorrow, and the crowd followed the depu-  
 ties to the gates, with weeping and lamentation. One  
 of them went to his house, believing he had acquitted  
 himself from his oath by his fraudulent return to the  
 Carthaginian camp. As soon as this was known, it  
 was laid before the senate, where the members unani-  
 mously



CHAP. moufly voted, that he should be seized, put under a  
LXI. public guard, and carried back to Hannibal. There  
is another tradition concerning the prisoners: Ten  
deputies came from them at first, and it was debated in the senate, whether they should be admitted into the city, or not; at last they were admitted, but not granted an audience of the senate. Upon their staying longer than was expected, three others came, L. Scribonius, C. Calpurnius and L. Manlius. Then a bill for ransoming the prisoners was brought in by a tribune of the people, a relation of L. Scribonius, but the fathers rejected it. Upon this the three last deputies returned to Hannibal, and the first ten staid behind, thinking themselves acquitted from their oath by returning from their journey under pretext of taking a list of the prisoners names. Likewise that there was a great struggle in the senate about delivering them up, and the affair was carried in their favor by a small majority. But the succeeding censors stamped such marks of disgrace upon them, that several of them immediately laid violent hands on themselves. The rest during their whole life not only refrained from all business and commerce, but durst not even shew their faces in public. Thus one may better be surprized at the difference among historians, than be able to come at the truth. But that this defeat far exceeded all former blows is evident from this circumstance, that the allies, who had continued unalterable till that day, began to revolt, for no other reason, than that they despaired of the affairs of the empire. The Atellani, Calatians, Hirpini, part of Apulia, all the Samnites, except those surnamed Pentri, all the Brutians, Lucanians, Surrentines, almost all the states on the coast of Great Greece, Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonians, Locrians, and all the Cisalpine Gauls revolted to the Carthaginian. Yet these misfortunes and falling off of the allies could not induce the Romans to give the least hint of peace, neither before the consul's arrival at Rome, nor after, when the sight of him renewed the memory of their defeat.



defeat. Nay at that very time the state shewed so much spirit, that all ranks went out in crowds to meet the consul on his return after a defeat, whereof he himself had been the principal cause, and thanked him for not having despaired of the commonwealth; whereas had he been a general of the Carthaginians, they had punished him with the utmost severity.

CHAP.

LXI.

## BOOK XXIII.

*The Campanians revolt to Hannibal. Mago, sent to Carthage with the news of the victory at Cannæ, pours out, in the porch of the senate-house, more than a bushel of gold rings taken off the fingers of the dead Romans. On this news, Hanno, the man of greatest quality in Carthage, advises their senate to sue for peace, but in vain through the opposition of the Barcinian faction. Cl. Marcellus the prætor has the advantage in a sally he makes out of Nola against Hannibal. The Carthaginian army lives so voluptuously in their winter quarters at Capua, as to enervate both their minds and bodies. Casilinum besieged by the Carthaginians, and so distressed by famine, that the inhabitants eat the thongs and leather of their shields, and mice, and live on nuts, which the Romans float to them down the Volturnus. The senate supplied with 197 persons out of the order of knights. L. Posthumius, the prætor, and his army cut in pieces by the Gauls. Cn. and P. Scipio defeat Asdrubal and make themselves masters of Spain. The remains of the battle of Cannæ sent to serve in Sicily, from whence they are not to return till the war is terminated. An alliance between Philip king of Macedon and Hannibal. The consul, S. Gracchus, overthrows the Campanians. This book besides contains the successes of the prætor T. Manlius against the Carthaginians and the inhabitants in Sardinia, where Asdrubal, Mago and Hanno are taken prisoners. The prætor Cl. Marcellus routs and defeats Hannibal's army at Nola, and is the first who revives the hopes of the Romans, daunted by repeated defeats.*

**H**ANNIBAL, after the battle of Cannæ, having taken and rifled the Roman camps, marched immediately from Apulia into Samnium, being invited to come among the Hirpini by Statius, who engaged to betray Compsa<sup>a</sup> to him. Statius<sup>b</sup> was a person of distinction and credit in his own city, but

CHAP.

I.

<sup>a</sup> Conza, in the Further Principality.<sup>b</sup> Surnamed Trebius.



**CHAP.** was vigorously opposed by the Mopsian faction,  
 I. which was supported by the interest of the Romans.  
 After the news of the battle of Cannæ, and of Hannibal's approach, which Trebius divulged in his speeches, the Mopsians quitted the city, which was surrendered to the Carthaginian without striking a blow, and admitted a garison into it. Here Hannibal left all his plunder and baggage, and divided his army. One part of it he gave to Mago, to receive such cities of that district as revolted from the Romans, and to reduce by force those that refused. He himself crossed Campania, and advanced to the lower sea, in order to besiege Naples, that he might get possession of a maritime city. As the roads to Naples are hollow and full of secret windings, he no sooner entered it's territories than he placed part of his Numidians in ambush as conveniently as he could, and ordered the rest under shew of driving booty before them out of the country, to ride up to the gates. As this seemed but a small and tumultuous body, a squadron of horse sallied out, were drawn into the ambush and surrounded. Not one of them had escaped but for the proximity of the sea, and some fishing vessels they saw not far from the shore, in which such as could swim saved themselves. Yet some young noblemen were killed and taken prisoners. Among them Hegeas, a colonel of horse lost his life by too hotly pursuing the fugitives. But when Hannibal viewed the walls, and saw they could not easily be attacked, he was deter'd from laying siege to it.

**CHAP.** FROM thence he marched to Capua, which, by  
 II. long prosperity and the indulgence of fortune, was plunged in luxury. But in this general corruption, it's greatest evil was the licentiousness of the people, who abused the exercise of their liberty beyond measure. Pacuvius Calavius, a noble and popular citizen, who had acquired great power by bad practices, had made the senate dependent on himself and the people. This man chanced to be principal magistrate of the city the year that the Romans were defeated at  
 Thrasymen.



Thrasymen. He imagined that the people, who had long hated the senate, and were fond of revolutions, would take occasion from this defeat to perpetrate some great mischief, such as assassinating the senate, and surrendering Capua to the Carthaginian, in case he came into those parts with his victorious army. He was a bad man, but not quite abandoned, and desired rather to acquire the sovereignty of his country in safety, than utterly to ruin it. As he knew no state could be safe without a public council, he contrived means to preserve the senate, and at the same time make it entirely dependent on himself and the people. In order to this, he assembled the members of it, and first declared that he would by no means approve of a revolt from the Romans, unless forced to it by necessity. ‘ For he had children by a daughter of Appius Claudius, and had a daughter married to Livius at Rome. But they were threatened with a more important and dangerous affair. For the populace did not intend to revolt in order to cut off the senators, but by massacring them to rid the republic of all magistracy, in order to put it into Hannibal’s hands. If they would rely on him, and, forgetting all former contests concerning the government, put entire confidence in his honor, he would preserve them from that danger.’ When in their consternation, they all put themselves in his power, he said, ‘ I will shut you up in the senate-house, and by pretending to become an accomplice in and approve their design, which it would be in vain for me to oppose, shall find means to save you. For this I will grant you any security you shall desire.’ Having pledged his honor, he ordered the house to be shut, and left a guard in the porch, that none might enter or come out of it without his order.

THEN having assembled the people, he said, CHAP.  
‘ You have often desired to have it in your power to III.  
‘ punish your wicked and detestable senators. You  
‘ have now a safe and fair opportunity, and need not  
VOL. IV. M ‘ run



CHAP.

III.

‘ run tumultuously to each of their houses, where  
 ‘ you are exposed to great danger, as they are de-  
 ‘ fended by their clients and slaves. Now you have  
 ‘ them all shut up in the senate-house without seconds  
 ‘ or arms. But beware of doing any thing precipi-  
 ‘ tately or rashly. I shall give you an opportunity  
 ‘ of passing sentence on them singly, that each may  
 ‘ suffer the punishment he deserves. But you ought to  
 ‘ indulge your resentment in such a manner only, as  
 ‘ to prefer your interest and safety to the gratifica-  
 ‘ tion of your passion. For, in my judgment, you  
 ‘ only hate those senators, and do not desire to have  
 ‘ no senate at all. You must either have a king,  
 ‘ which you hold in abhorrence, or a senate, which  
 ‘ is the only council of a free state. Therefore you  
 ‘ have two things to do, to destroy the old senators,  
 ‘ and chuse new ones. I shall order each of them  
 ‘ to appear, and shall ask your resolutions with re-  
 ‘ spect to them, and the sentence you pass shall be  
 ‘ put in execution. But you shall chuse some man  
 ‘ of probity and bravery to succede the criminal be-  
 ‘ fore he is punished.’ Then he sat down, and  
 causing all their names to be thrown into an urn, or-  
 dered the person whose name was first drawn to be  
 cited, and brought from the senate-house. As soon  
 as his name was heard, all cried out, that he was a  
 wicked person, and deserved punishment. Then  
 Pacuvius said, ‘ I plainly perceive, what sentence you  
 ‘ pass on this man. He is to be expel’d the senate as a  
 ‘ bad and wicked person. Now chuse a just and ho-  
 ‘ nest person in his room.’ At first they continued si-  
 lent, for want of a better to supply his place. Then  
 when any impudent fellow named one, they immedi-  
 ately set up a much louder cry. Some said they did not  
 know him ; others objected against his bad morals,  
 mean birth, wretched poverty, and low trade or busi-  
 ness. These difficulties encreased so much, when the  
 second or third senator was called, that it appeared  
 the people repented of what they had done, as they  
 saw they wanted fit persons to substitute in their room.  
 And



And it was absurd to name the old ones again, who had been called on only to hear of their vices ; and these mentioned to succede them were much more mean and obscure than those that occur'd first to their memory. Wherefore the people gave up the point, and declaring the most supportable evil to be that to which persons are most accustomed, ordered the senators to be set at liberty.

IN this manner did Pacuvius, by saving the lives of the senators when in danger, make them more dependent on himself than on the people, and gained an absolute sway by universal consent, and without being obliged to use violence. From henceforth the senators, forgetting their dignity and liberty, paid their court to the people by all manner of adulation, kindly inviting them to feasts prepared on purpose, undertook their causes, were always ready to assist their party, and when judges in any suit passed sentence in favor of the party that was in greatest credit with the people. Thus, in short, nothing was resolved upon in senate, but as the people decided, as if they had been the supreme council. The Capuans were always addicted to luxury, not only by a natural depraved disposition, but also by the excess of all kinds of delights, and the alluring pleasures with which a fertile country and the sea supplied them. But the late abject complaisance of their principal men, and the unbridled licentiousness of the people, had occasioned that no person set bounds to the gratification of his passions, or to his expences. They trampled under foot laws, magistrates, and senate, and after the battle of Cannæ, proceeded so far as to condemn the Romans, for whom alone they had hitherto preserved some respect. The only consideration that restrained them from immediately revolting was, that many illustrious and powerful families had allied themselves by marriage to the Romans. And besides, as several of them had been in the Roman service, 300 chosen knights of greatest quality among the Capuans had been sent into the garrisons of Sicily.

CHAP.  
IV.



## CHAP.

V.

WITH the greatest difficulty the parents and relations of these young noblemen prevailed to have a deputation sent to the Roman consul. As he was not yet gone to Canusium they found him at Venusia with a few troops half armed, in so miserable a plight as would have moved the compassion of sincere allies, but which served only to excite contempt in so proud and unfaithful a people as the Capuans. Besides, the consul enhanced their contempt of him and the condition of his affairs, by discovering and laying open his calamitous circumstances. For when the deputies declared, that the senate and people of Capua heartily lamented the misfortune that had happened to the Romans, and promised supplies of every thing necessary for the war, he said, ‘ Capu-  
 ‘ ans, by what you have said, you have observed a  
 ‘ common ceremony with allies, and desired we  
 ‘ would demand what we wanted for carrying on the  
 ‘ war, rather than spoke any thing directly tending  
 ‘ to relieve our present necessitous condition. For  
 ‘ what was left us at Cannæ, to make us, as, if we  
 ‘ really had something, desire our allies to supply  
 ‘ what is wanting? Can we demand foot of you, as  
 ‘ if we had horse? Can we say we want money, as  
 ‘ if it was our sole want? Fortune has left us nothing,  
 ‘ nothing that we could supply. Our infantry, ca-  
 ‘ valry, arms, colors, horse, men, money, provi-  
 ‘ sions, all perished, either in the field of battle, or  
 ‘ in the two camps next day. Therefore, Capuans,  
 ‘ it behoves you not only to aid us in the war, but  
 ‘ even to undertake it in our stead. Remember,  
 ‘ how formerly, when your ancestors were driven  
 ‘ in consternation within their walls, and were terri-  
 ‘ fied both by the Samnites and Sidicini, we defend-  
 ‘ ed them, and received them into our protection at  
 ‘ Saticula. On your account we entered into war  
 ‘ with the Samnites, and sustained it with various  
 ‘ success near 100 years. Add to these, that when  
 ‘ you surrendered yourselves at discretion, we con-  
 ‘ cluded a league with you on equal terms, allowed  
 ‘ you



‘ you your own laws, and at last (which was a most  
 ‘ valuable consideration before our defeat at Cannæ)  
 ‘ granted many of you the freedom of our city.  
 ‘ Therefore, Capuans, you ought to look on this  
 ‘ as a common defeat of both, and resolve to defend  
 ‘ our common country. We have not to do with  
 ‘ the Samnites and Hetrurians, by whom if our em-  
 ‘ pire was wrested from us, it would still remain in  
 ‘ Italy. A Carthaginian is our enemy, and brings  
 ‘ in his train, from the extremities of the earth, the  
 ‘ ocean and pillars of Hercules, soldiers, not so much  
 ‘ as natives of Africa, ignorant of all right, the dif-  
 ‘ ference of ranks, and even of human language.  
 ‘ These troops, whose natures and manners are cru-  
 ‘ el and barbarous, their general hath rendered more  
 ‘ savage, by making bridges and ramparts of hu-  
 ‘ man bodies, and, which is horrible to utter, by  
 ‘ teaching them to eat human flesh. Who that was  
 ‘ born in Italy would not detest to see and be subject  
 ‘ to those who feed on such shocking food, whom it  
 ‘ is not lawful to touch; to receive laws from Afri-  
 ‘ ca and Carthage, and suffer Italy to be a province  
 ‘ belonging to Numidians and Moors? It would  
 ‘ be glorious, Capuans, to see the Roman em-  
 ‘ pire, sinking under it’s misfortunes, prop’d and re-  
 ‘ stored by your fidelity and forces! I imagine  
 ‘ Campania could furnish 30000 foot, and 4000  
 ‘ horse. It has great plenty of money and corn. If  
 ‘ your fidelity is equal to your wealth, the Carthagi-  
 ‘ nian will find he is not a complete conqueror, nor  
 ‘ the Romans that they are entirely vanquished.’

CHAP.  
V.

AFTER this speech of the consul the deputies  
 were dismissed and returned home. One of them,  
 Vibius Virius, said on the road, ‘ The time is come,  
 ‘ when the Capuans may not only recover the  
 ‘ lands unjustly taken from them by the Romans,  
 ‘ but also obtain the empire of Italy. They may  
 ‘ make a league with Hannibal on what terms they  
 ‘ please. Nor was it to be doubted, but the Car-  
 ‘ thaginian, after he had terminated the war, and re-

CHAP.  
VI.



CHAP. VI. turned victorious into Afric with his army, would leave them sovereigns of Italy.' They were all of Virius's opinion, and gave such an account of their embassy, as it appeared the Roman affairs were absolutely ruined. The people and greatest part of the senate would have immediately revolted. But they were prevented for a few days by the authority of the seniors. At last the majority prevailed to have the same ambassadors sent to Hannibal, that had been sent to the Roman consul. I find in some annals, that before this embassy was sent, they sent one to Rome to demand that one of the consuls should annually be chosen out of the Capuans, if they desired their state should assist them. But the Roman senate with great indignation ordered them to be put out of the house, and sent a lictor to drive them out of the city, and order them to leave their territories that day. As this demand of theirs bears so near a resemblance to a former one of the Latines, and Coelius and other historians have with reason omitted it, I am afraid to warrant it for truth.

CHAP. VII. HOWEVER ambassadors came to Hannibal, and made an alliance with him on the following terms. That no Carthaginian general or magistrate should have any jurisdiction over the citizens of Capua. No Capuan should be compelled to serve in the army, or hold any office among the Carthaginians. Capua should be governed by her own laws and magistrates. The Carthaginian should put into their hands 300 Roman prisoners, such as they should chuse, to be exchanged against the Capuan knights that were serving in Sicily.' These terms they agreed on. But besides what was stipulated, the Capuans were guilty of a horrid piece of cruelty. For they all of a sudden seized such officers of the allies and Roman citizens, as were employed there about their duty in regard to the war, or their private business; and under pretext of securing their persons, ordered them to be shut up in baths, where, being suffocated with the steam and heat, they expired



expired in a miserable manner. Decius Magius, who wanted nothing to raise him to the highest authority, but to have to do with a people in their senses, had opposed this as well as sending an embassy to Hannibal. But when he heard that Hannibal was sending a garison to their city, he represented to them, in lively colors, the insupportable tyranny of Pyrrhus, and the miserable slavery of the Tarentines. He first openly exclaimed ‘ against admitting it, and ‘ then, if they did admit it, that they should either ‘ expel it again, or, if they would expiate their horrid ‘ crime in revolting from their ancient allies and relations by some memorable action, they should put ‘ the Carthaginian garison to the sword, and return ‘ to their alliance with the Romans.’ As these remonstrances were made in public, Hannibal was soon informed of them. For this reason, he first sent messengers to desire Magius to come to the camp to him. But when Magius haughtily refused, and insisted that Hannibal had no power over a citizen of Capua, the Carthaginian was so enraged, that he ordered him to be seized, put in chains, and dragged to him. Then being apprehensive that so violent a proceeding might excite a tumult, and the multitude when up might raise some rash skuffle, he sent to tell Marius Blossius, prætor of Capua, that he would be there himself next day. Accordingly he set out with a small guard. Marius, having assembled the people, ordered them with their wives and children to go out and meet Hannibal. All complied not only out of obedience, but with great earnestness; nay the populace were curious and forward to see a general famous by so many victories. But Decius Magius neither went to meet him, nor kept within doors, that he might not shew any fear, or reproach himself with guilt. He walked carelessly up and down the forum with his son and a few of his friends, whilst all the city ran in a hurry to see and receive the Carthaginian. As soon as Hannibal entered the city, he required that the senate might assemble. But the principal



pal men of Capua begged he would not transact any serious affair that day, but chearfully and with rejoicing celebrate the day of his arrival as a festival. Not to refuse them the first favor, he stifled his violent resentment, and spent the greatest part of the day in visiting the city.

## CHAP.

## VIII.

HE lodged with the Minii, Stenius and Pacuvius, men distinguished both for their birth and wealth. Pacuvius Calavius, whom we mentioned above as the head of that faction, which yielded every thing to Hannibal, brought his son thither, after having forced him from the company of D. Magius, with whom he had most strenuously urged maintaining the alliance with the Romans, and opposed entering into a league with the Carthaginians. Neither the example of the state, which had chose the opposite side, nor paternal authority, could make him change his sentiments. Instead of justifying him, the father, by humble entreaties, reconciled to this youth the Carthaginian, who, overcome by the prayers and tears of the father, ordered the son and father to be invited to an entertainment to which no Capuan was admitted, except his host and Jubellius Taurea famous for his bravery in war. They sat down to table before evening. This feast was not agreeable to the manners of the Carthaginians or austere military discipline, but furnished out with all the delicious dishes and splendor that could be expected in a voluptuous house. Only Perolla, Calavius's son, could not be chearful, notwithstanding his hosts and sometimes Hannibal invited him. He excused himself on account of his health. His father likewise made an apology for his disorder, which he was not in the main surprized at. About sunset Calavius left the banqueting room, and his son followed him. When they came to a private place in the garden behind the house, Perolla said, ' Father, I can inform you of a design, which will ' not only procure us pardon from the Romans for ' our revolt to Hannibal, but will place us in higher ' credit and esteem with them than ever the Ca-  
puans



‘puans were.’ When his father in great surprize asked what it was, he cast his robe back from his shoulder, and shewed him a sword girded by his side. ‘Now, says he, I will seal an alliance with the Romans in the blood of the Carthaginian. I thought proper to apprize you of it, in case you should not chuse to be present at the action.’

THE old man hearing and seeing this, in as much  
 terror, as if he had actually been present at the per-  
 petration of what he heard, was quite distracted with  
 fear. ‘Son, said he, I conjure you by all the rights  
 ‘and ties that subsist between children and parents;  
 ‘I beseech and obtest you, not to commit, or suffer  
 ‘to be committed, the most enormous of all crimes  
 ‘in sight of thy father. It is but a few hours, since  
 ‘we swore by all the Gods, and gave him our right  
 ‘hands as the most solemn pledge of our honour, to  
 ‘eat at this feast consecrated by solemn oaths. Shall  
 ‘we, who but this instant quitted his conversation, arm  
 ‘ourselves against him? Can you rise up from that  
 ‘hospitable table to which you was the third Ca-  
 ‘puan who had the honour to be admitted by the  
 ‘Carthaginian, to stain it with the blood of your  
 ‘host? I was able to reconcile Hannibal to my son,  
 ‘but cannot reconcile my son to Hannibal. But come,  
 ‘let us shew no regard to honor, faith, religion and  
 ‘piety; let us commit the blackest crimes, provided  
 ‘they do not involve us in inevitable destruction.  
 ‘Remember you are singly to attack Hannibal. But  
 ‘where will be all those eyes that attentively watch  
 ‘him? Where will be all the freemen and slaves that  
 ‘attend him? Where will be the right hands of all  
 ‘present? Will your madness benumb them? Can  
 ‘you bear the looks of Hannibal, which armies  
 ‘cannot sustain, which makes the Roman people  
 ‘tremble? Besides, should all other aid be wanting,  
 ‘could you have the heart to strike through me who  
 ‘would cover Hannibal’s body with my own? You  
 ‘must come at and pierce him through my heart.  
 ‘Suffer therefore yourself to be deter’d here, rather  
 ‘than

CHAP.  
 IX.



CHAP. IX. { ‘ than to perish on the spot. Let my prayers prevail with you, after having been this day prevalent in your behalf.’ The father, seeing his son melted into tears, clasped him in his arms, and embracing him, never ceased his entreaties till he prevailed with him to lay aside his sword, and to promise he would entirely renounce his enterprize. ‘ But father, said he, to you I am to pay that duty which I owe to my country. Alas! I lament your case, who will undergo the reproach of having thrice betrayed your country; first when you advised the revolt from the Romans; secondly, when you advised making peace with Hannibal, and a third time to day, when you was the sole hindrance and obstacle to reinstating Capua in the favor of Rome. Dear country, receive this sword, with which being armed, I resolved to have defended thy citadel, since a father wrests it out of my hand.’ When he had said this he threw the sword over the garden wall into the highway, and to avoid suspicion returned to the entertainment.

CHAP. X. { NEXT day at Hannibal’s request the senate assembled in great numbers. The beginning of his speech was very gracious and complaisant. He thanked them for preferring his alliance to that of the Romans, and amongst other magnificent promises, engaged in a short time to make them masters of all Italy, and that the Romans, as well as other nations, should receive laws from Capua. But he said, there was one man among them, who was excluded from all share in the Carthaginian amity and the treaty concluded with them, who neither was nor could be called a Capuan. He meant D. Magius. Him he demanded to be delivered up to him, that the senate in his presence might take cognizance of his cause, and pass sentence on him. They all complied, though the greatest part of them thought Magius did not deserve so hard a fate, and that in the very beginning that was a great blow given to their Liberty. The chief magistrate immediately quitted the senate house, and



and seating himself in the judgment hall, ordered D. CHAP. Magius to be arrested, arraigned before him and to defend himself. The delinquent, persisting in his haughtiness, insisted that by an article in the treaty he could not be compelled to it. Then he was ordered to be put in chains and carried before a lictor to the camp. As long as his head was uncovered, he continued to speak to the multitude that surrounded him, crying aloud, ‘ Now you have got, Capuans, the liberty you desired. In the middle of the forum, in broad day, before your eyes, I, who am inferior to none in Capua, am drag’d in chains to death. What greater violence could be committed, if Capua had been taken by storm? Go! forsooth, meet the Carthaginian, adorn the city, celebrate the day of his arrival, that you may see this triumph over one of your citizens.’ As these exclamations seemed to make some impression on the populace his head was muffled up, and orders given to drag him with expedition out of the gates. Thus he was led to the camp. Soon after he was put on board a ship and sent to Carthage, lest his infamous treatment should raise some tumult at Capua, and the senate repent having delivered up so great a man: Likewise to prevent giving offence to his new allies by refusing to restore him in case they should send a deputation for that purpose; or by granting their request have a person at Capua ready to stir up tumults and seditions. But a storm drove the ship to Cyrene<sup>a</sup>, which was then subject to the Kings of Egypt. There Magius fled for protection to the statue of Ptolemy, to whom he was carried by a guard to Alexandria. When he had informed that prince, how Hannibal had put him in chains contrary to treaty, he was set at liberty and had permission either to return to Rome or Capua. But he said, ‘ He could not be safe at Capua, and if he went to Rome at a time when there was war between the Romans and Capuans, he would be entertained rather as a deserter than a friend. He

<sup>a</sup> Now *Corene* in the district of *Barca*.

‘ therefore



## CHAP.

## XI.

therefore chose, preferable to every place else, to live in his kingdom, who had procured him liberty.’

IN the mean time the embassador from Delphi, Q. Fabius Pictor, returned to Rome and delivered the answer in writing. It contained the names of all the Gods to whom supplications were to be made, and concluded, ‘ If, Romans, you perform these things, your affairs shall prosper and succede better. Your commonwealth shall flourish to your wish, and the Roman people shall be conquerors in the war. But when your state is preserved and your arms crowned with success, as a grateful recompence send an honorable present out of the plunder and spoils to the Pythian Apollo: And banish from among you all impurity of morals.’ After he had recited these things translated from the original Greek, he added, ‘ that when he came out of the temple of the oracle, he had offered wine and incense to all these Gods. That as he was commanded by the priest of the temple, and had come to the oracle and offered his sacrifice crowned with laurel, so he had gone aboard the ship with a crown on his head, which he had never laid aside till he had arrived at Rome. He had religiously and carefully obeyed all the instructions had been given him, and had deposited his crown at the altar of Apollo in Rome.’ Then the senate ordered care to be taken to perform all these supplications to the Gods. Whilst these things passed at Rome and in Italy, Mago, son of Hamilcar, arrived at Carthage with news of the victory at Cannæ. His brother had not dispatched him immediately after the action, but detained him a few days while he received the cities of the Bruttii, who revolted to him. When he had his audience of the senate, he gave this account of his brother’s successes in Italy. ‘ He had fought against six generals, four of whom were consuls, the other two, one a dictator and the other general of horse, and with six consular armies. He had slain above 200000 enemies, and taken above 50,000 prisoners. He had killed two of the four consuls,



‘ consuls, of the two who survived one had been CHAP.  
 ‘ grievously wounded, and the other escaped, after XI.  
 ‘ losing his whole army, with about 50 men. He  
 ‘ had routed and put to flight a general of horse,  
 ‘ whose authority was equal to that of a consul. The  
 ‘ dictator was considered as an unparallelled general,  
 ‘ because he had avoided fighting. The Bruttians  
 ‘ and Apulians, some of the Samnites and Lucanians  
 ‘ had revolted to the Carthaginians. That Capua  
 ‘ the chief city, not only of Campania, but of all  
 ‘ Italy, since the defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, had  
 ‘ surrendered to Hannibal. For these great and ma-  
 ‘ nifold victories, it was proper to return thanks to  
 ‘ the immortal Gods.’

TO verify these joyful tidings, he ordered the CHAP.  
 gold rings to be emptied in the porch of the senate- XII.  
 house. Some historians say there was so great a  
 quantity of them that when measured they filled  
 three bushels and a half. But the truest account and  
 what has gained universal credit is, that there were not  
 more than one bushel. Then, in order to enhance the  
 idea of the defeat, he added, that none except the  
 Roman cavalry, and only the principal among them,  
 wore that honorable badge. And so concluded, ‘ that  
 ‘ the greater hopes they had of speedily terminating  
 ‘ the war, they ought to make the greater efforts to  
 ‘ send aid to Hannibal. For he was making war far  
 ‘ from home in the heart of an enemy’s country.  
 ‘ The consumption of provisions and money was very  
 ‘ great, and so many battles could not destroy such  
 ‘ numbers of enemies without lessening the conqueror’s  
 ‘ forces in some measure. Supplies therefore must be  
 ‘ sent to him, provisions and pay must be sent to the  
 ‘ troops that had done the Carthaginian state so great  
 ‘ service.’ As Mago’s speech diffused an universal  
 joy, Himilco, of the Barcinian faction, thought it a  
 proper occasion to insult Hanno. ‘ Well, Hanno,  
 ‘ said he, what are your sentiments? Are you still  
 ‘ dissatisfy’d that we entered into a war against the  
 ‘ Romans? Order Hannibal to be delivered up;  
 ‘ declare



## CHAP.

## XII.

declare against our giving thanks to the immortal  
 Gods for the success of our arms. Let us hear the  
 language of a Roman senator in the senate-house of  
 Carthage.' Then Hanno replied, ' Conscript fa-  
 thers, I should have chose to have been silent this  
 day, that no dissonant word might drop from me  
 to disturb the harmony of your common joy ; but  
 not to reply to a senator, who asks me if I am for-  
 ry for having undertaken the war against the Ro-  
 mans, would make me seem to be either proud, or  
 disaffected to the state ; the first would argue that  
 I had forgot that I was to speak to a free man ;  
 the latter that I forgot I was so myself. To Hi-  
 milco, therefore, I answer, that I continue to be dis-  
 satisfy'd with the war, and never will cease to  
 blame your invincible general till I see it terminated  
 by a treaty on some tolerable conditions ; and no-  
 thing but a new peace shall make me cease to re-  
 gret the breach of the old. The exploits, of which  
 Mago has just now given so pompous a detail,  
 cause great joy to Himilco and the other partizans  
 of Hannibal. They may give me joy too, if the  
 proper use be made of them for procuring peace on  
 more reasonable conditions. But if we let slip this  
 occasion, in which we seem to have it in our power  
 rather to grant than to receive peace, I am afraid,  
 this present joy will cloy us and vanish into air. After  
 all, what are these boasted advantages ? I have cut  
 off, says Hannibal, armies of enemies, send me  
 troops. What else would he ask, had he been  
 defeated ? I have two camps belonging to the ene-  
 my ; full no doubt of plunder and provision ! sup-  
 ply me with corn and money. What else could  
 he have asked, if his camp and every thing in  
 it had been taken ? But that I may not be the only  
 person to express surprize at all these things (for  
 as I have replied to Himilco, I am at liberty and  
 have a right to interrogate in my turn) let either  
 him or Mago answer me a few questions. Since it  
 is certain, that the battle of Cannæ quite ruined the  
 Roman



‘ Roman empire, and brought all Italy over to us,  
 ‘ pray in the first place, have any of the Latine  
 ‘ states revolted to us? And in the next, has any sin-  
 ‘ gle man of the thirty-five Roman tribes deserted to  
 ‘ Hannibal? Mago answered, ‘ neither.’ ‘ Well  
 ‘ then, said he, there are but too many enemies still  
 ‘ surviving. But I would know farther, what heart,  
 ‘ what hope, this multitude has?’

MAGO replied, ‘ he could not tell.’ ‘ Nothing CHAP.  
 ‘ is easier,’ said Hanno. ‘ Have the Romans sent XIII.  
 ‘ ambassadors to Hannibal to treat of peace? Have  
 ‘ you heard, that any mention was made of it at  
 ‘ Rome?’ Mago having answered in the negative,  
 ‘ The war then, says he, subsists as entire as it was  
 ‘ the first day Hannibal entered Italy. Many are  
 ‘ still alive who remember the vicissitudes of the victo-  
 ‘ ries in the first Punic war. Our affairs never  
 ‘ seemed to be in a more prosperous condition, than  
 ‘ immediately before the consulate of C. Lutatius and  
 ‘ A. Posthumius. Yet in their consulate we were de-  
 ‘ feated at the islands Ægates. If our fortune should  
 ‘ now take a like turn (the Gods avert the omen) can  
 ‘ you hope to obtain, when overcome, that peace  
 ‘ which none thinks of offering when we are victo-  
 ‘ rious? I know what I would say, if the question  
 ‘ was, either to offer our enemies a peace, or to ac-  
 ‘ cept it from them. But if you ask my opinion  
 ‘ concerning Mago’s demands, I think it is absurd  
 ‘ to send aid to conquerors; and if they deceive us  
 ‘ with false and vain hopes, we have less reason to  
 ‘ send any.’ Hanno’s speech made little impression  
 on the senate. For his hatred to the Barcinian faction  
 detracted from his credit in the affair. And they  
 were too much engrossed by their present joy to  
 hearken to any thing that would damp it. Besides  
 they imagined, with a few efforts more they should  
 see the war terminated. They therefore unanimously  
 resolved to send Hannibal a reinforcement of 4000  
 Numidians, 40 elephants and a great sum of money\*.



Besides a dictator was detached before with Mago into Spain to levy 20000 foot and 4000 horse, to recruit the armies in that country and in Italy.

CHAP. BUT, as usual in times of prosperity, these orders  
 XIV. were executed with indolence and remissness. On the  
 other side neither the active nature nor circumstances of the Romans would suffer them to be dilatory. For the consul neglected nothing that belonged to his office, and the dictator D. Junius Pera, after performing several ceremonies of religion, asked the people permission to ride on horseback. Besides the two city legions, which had been raised by the consuls in the beginning of the year, the corps of slaves and the cohorts which had been levied in Picenum and the Ager Gallicus<sup>a</sup>, he had recourse to a method of supply never used but in desperate junctures, and when the decent must give way to utility. He went into the forum and publicly proclaimed, ‘ that all who were  
 ‘ confined for capital crimes or debt, and would  
 ‘ serve under him, he would order to be exempted  
 ‘ from punishment and discharged from their debts.’ Of these he armed 6000 with the arms taken from the Gauls, and carry’d in triumph by Flaminius. Thus he set out from the city at the head of 25000 men. The Carthaginian, having secured Capua and made a second ineffectual attempt upon the Neapolitans, whose hopes and fears both he tried to work on, marched into the territories of Nola. As he did not entirely despair of their surrendering voluntarily, he did not commence hostilities immediately ; but at the same time, in case they dallied longer than he expected, he resolved to make them dread and suffer the utmost extremities. Their Senate, especially the principal men of it, continued faithfully attached to their alliance with the Romans ; but the people, as is common, being fond of changes, were wholly in the interest of Hannibal. Besides they considered their lands would be laid waste, and the many grievous and

<sup>a</sup> Conquered from the Gauls and It was divided amongst some Roman lay between the *Rubicon* and *Æsis*. citizens,



intolerable calamities they must suffer if they were besieged. Neither did they want persons to head the revolt. Wherefore the senate begun to be afraid, that if they went openly to work, they would not be able to make head against the people if they were once alarmed, and averted the storm by dissembling with them. They pretended to approve of revolting to the Carthaginian, but that they could not be certain on what conditions they should conclude the new treaty and alliance. Having by these means gained more time, they dispatched expresses to the Roman prætor M. Claudius Marcellus, who was then with his army at Casilinum, to let him know the extreme danger in which Nola was. Hannibal was in possession of the country and would immediately be of the city, if they did not receive succors. The senators had hindered the people from hastening their revolt, by giving them leave to do it when they should desire. Marcellus, after commending the Nolans, ordered them by the same pretexts to spin out the time till his arrival, and in the mean time to keep their transaction with him private, and all hopes of aid from the Romans. He himself went from Casilinum to Calatia, and then passing the Volturnus, crossed the country of Saticula and Trebula, and came to Nola by the mountains above Sueffula.

ON the approach of the Roman prætor Hannibal left the Nolan territories, and retired to the sea coast near Naples, ardently wishing to make himself master of a maritime city, that ships might come to him safely out of Afric. But when he heard that Naples was commanded by a Roman prætor M. Junius Silanus, whom the inhabitants had called in, and seeing himself excluded here in the same manner as he had been at Nola, he went to Nuceria. After having blocked it up for some time, and strove in vain to take it by storm and sometimes by tampering with the people and sometimes with the nobility, he at length reduced it by famine. It was stipulated that the inhabitants should march out without their arms, and with a



CHAP.

xv.

single garment a piece. Then as he had determined from the beginning to shew his clemency to all the Italians except the Romans, he promised great rewards and honors to such as would stay and serve in his troops. But not a single man was allured by these promises. They all went away, to whatever place they could find entertainment at, or to any city of Campania chance and inclination directed them to; but the greatest part went to Nola and Naples. When about thirty of their senators, and these too the principal of them, went to Capua, they were not suffered to enter it, because they had shut their gates against Hannibal. So they went to Cumæ. The plunder of Nuceria was abandoned to the soldiers, and the town sacked and burnt. Marcellus rely'd as much on the affections of the principal men of Nola, as on the fidelity of his soldiers. But he was jealous of the people, and of none so much as of L. Bantius, who, being afraid of the Roman prætor, because he had been in the plot for revolting, was thereby induced to betray his country, and if he failed in that, to desert to the enemy. He was an enterprising youth, and at that time the most distinguished horseman among the allies. Hannibal, having found him half dead among heaps of slain at Cannæ, had carefully got him cured of the wounds, and sent him home with rich presents. In gratitude for this service, he earnestly desired to put the Carthaginian in possession of Nola, and the prætor observed him anxious and solicitous to accomplish this change. But as it was necessary either to restrain him by punishments, or conciliate him by favor, he chose rather to gain over than take from the enemy by force this brave and valiant youth. Therefore he sent for him and thus courteously addressed him. ‘ It is very evident that you are much envy’d by the populace, since no citizen of Nola has informed me of your military exploits. Many, who served at the same time with you, have informed us, what a brave man you are, and of the great and many dangers you have undergone for the safety and dignity of the

the



' the Roman people. How you did not cease fighting  
 ' at Cannæ, till you was almost killed and over-  
 ' whelmed with dead bodies, arms and horses that  
 ' fell upon you. Go on to shew yourself brave, I  
 ' shall take care to honor and reward you. The oft-  
 ' ener you give me the pleasure of your company, it  
 ' shall derive to you the more honor and advantage.'  
 Seeing the youth ravished with these promises, he  
 made him a present of a fine horse, and ordered the  
 quæstor to give him 500 silver denarii<sup>a</sup>, commanding  
 the lictors to give him admittance to him as often as  
 he pleased.

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BY this obliging behavior, Marcellus so soften-  
 ed the rugged spirit of this youth, that from thence-  
 forth he was one of the bravest and most faithful allies  
 of Rome. When Hannibal, who had come back  
 from Nuceria, appeared before the gates of Nola,  
 the people began afresh to think of a revolt. But  
 upon his approach Marcellus kept within the walls,  
 not that he was afraid to encamp without, but to de-  
 prive the inhabitants, many of whom were disposed to  
 it, of an opportunity to betray the town. At last  
 both of them drew up in battalia, the Romans before  
 the walls of Nola, and the Carthaginians before their  
 camp. Betwixt the city and the camp there hap-  
 pened some skirmishes with various success, because  
 the generals would neither check the few who desired  
 to skirmish, nor give the signal for a general battle.  
 While the two armies remained in this posture from  
 day to day, the chief men of Nola informed Marcellus,  
 ' that the populace and the Carthaginians held confe-  
 ' rences in the night. That it was resolved, as soon  
 ' as the Roman army should march out in battalia,  
 ' to shut the gates, plunder the baggage and seize  
 ' the walls; that being hereby masters of themselves  
 ' and the city, they might transfer the possession of  
 ' it from the Romans to the Carthaginians.' When  
 Marcellus heard this, he commended the senators  
 and resolved to risque a battle, before any commotion  
 should break out in the city. He marshalled his

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troops in three columns at as many gates facing the enemy, ordering the baggage to follow it, and the soldiers servants, sutlers and invalids to carry stakes to make a rampart. At the middle gate he posted the flower of the Roman infantry and cavalry; the recruits, light armed troops and the allies horse about the other two gates. He forbid the Nolans to go near the walls or gates, and appointed a guard for the baggage, lest it should be attacked while his legions were engaged. In this disposition he kept his troops within the gates. Hannibal, who had been standing the greatest part of the day under arms, as he had done for several days before, at first wondered, that the Roman army neither came out, nor any soldier appeared on the wall. Then concluding that their conferences had been betrayed, and that fear restrained the enemy, he sent back part of his troops to his camp, ordering them speedily to bring to the front all the apparatus necessary for an assault. For he was confident, that the people would raise some commotion in the city, if he attacked the enemy while they lingered. But while each of his men ran in confusion to the front to discharge his part of the duty, and the whole army was come up to the foot of the wall, Marcellus, opening the middle gate all of a sudden, ordered a charge to be sounded, a shout to be set up, and first his foot and then his horse, to charge the enemy with the greatest fury. They had spread confusion and terror enough in the centre, when P. Val. Flaccus, and C. Aurelius, lieutenant generals, sallied out at the other two gates upon the enemy's wings. Then the servants, sutlers and the other multitude that was left to guard the baggage, set up another shout, so that the Carthaginians, who despised them for their want of number, suddenly imagined them to be a great army. I dare scarce affirm with some authors, that the enemy lost 2300 men, and the Romans only a single man. But whether the victory was or was not so great, yet I know not whether that day's action was not the most important performed during



during that war. For then it was more difficult for the conquerors to prevent their being defeated by Hannibal, than it was afterwards to defeat him.

HAVING thus lost all hopes of getting possession of Nola, he retired to Acerræ. Marcellus, having shut the gates of the town, and posted guards to prevent any one's escaping, made enquiry in the forum concerning such as held secret conferences with the enemy. Having convicted seventy of this treasonable practice, he condemned them to be beheaded, ordered their estates to be confiscated to the Roman people, and having restored the sovereign authority to the senate, marched away with all his army, and encamped above Sueffula. The Carthaginian first attempted to draw the Acerrans to a voluntary surrender, and failing in that, prepared to invest and storm the town. The inhabitants had more courage than strength. Wherefore despairing of being able to defend the town, as soon as they saw it invested, they stole in the dead of the night, before they were quite surrounded, through the intervals of the lines and the unguarded posts, and fled up and down, as design or fear drove, to such cities of Campania, as they were certain had continued faithful to the Romans. He sacked and demolished Acerræ, and hearing that the Roman dictator and his new legions had been invited to Casilinum, he himself marched thither, for fear, while their camp was so near, some of them might likewise go to Capua. At that time Casilinum was garisoned by 500 Prænestines, with a few Romans and Latines, who had retired thither on advice of the defeat at Cannæ. These Prænestines, not being mustered in their own town at the day appointed, had been late of setting out, and had come as far as Casilinum before the news of the unfortunate battle. Being joined here by other Roman allies, they had marched away with a considerably strong body; but getting accounts of the defeat at Cannæ, on their rout they returned to Casilinum. Having spent some days here, where the inhabitants and they

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were mutually jealous of one another, and were employed in laying and contriving how to avoid each others snares, they got certain intelligence that Capua was treating about surrendering to the Carthaginian. Upon this they slew the inhabitants, and took possession of that part of the city which lies on this side the Volturnus, for the town is divided by that river. They were joined by a cohort of Perusians, consisting of 300 men, who had been brought to Casilinum by the same means that the Prænestines had been a few days before. Thus they had soldiers sufficient to defend the walls of this little place, which was guarded on one side by the river. It appeared too that they had too much room for their stores of provision.

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WHEN the Carthaginian came near it he detached the Gætuli under command of an officer named Isalca, with orders, if he had an opportunity of conferring with the garison, to engage them by fair speeches to open the gates and receive a garison. But if they obstinately persisted in standing out, to begin hostilities; and try to attack the town on some accessible quarter. Having approached the walls, and observed no soldiers on them, and all in profound silence, he concluded the enemy had abandoned them for fear, and so prepared to break the gates and burst open the locks. But all of a sudden they were opened, and two cohorts, which had been drawn up within for that purpose, sallied out with vast impetuosity, and made great slaughter of the enemy. The first detachment being thus repulsed, Maharbal was sent with a stronger; but he likewise was unable to stand the charge of those that sallied. At last Hannibal, having encamped before the walls, prepared to attack this little place and small garison, with all his force, and his whole troops. While he pressed and annoyed it much, the defendants from the walls and towers killed several of his men, especially the most forward of them. One time when they sallied, they had like to have been cut off by a line of elephants, which got between them and the town,



town, and were obliged to retire, after having lost too great a number of men for the small body they had. More had been killed if night had not put an end to the battle. Next day the Carthaginians were animated to make an assault. A mural crown of gold was promised him who first mounted the wall; and as the place was situated in a plain, the General himself reproached them for being backward in the assault, bidding them remember how they had taken Saguntum, to call to mind the battles of Cannæ, Thrasymen, Trebia; and all their other successes. Then they began to apply their galleries, and dig their mines. Nothing that could be performed by force or stratagem did they leave unattempted. But the Roman allies opposed their bulwarks to the galleries, and met the enemies mines with counter-mines, so that they frustrated all their attempts both above and below ground. At length shame made the Carthaginian abandon the enterprize. Having fortified his camp, he left some troops in it, that he might not seem entirely to have quitted the siege, and retired to Capua, where, during the greatest part of the winter, he quartered in houses those soldiers who had often and long endured all the hardships incident to men, and were strangers and unaccustomed to the sweets of life. Here those, whom the greatest adversities could not conquer, fell victims to plenty and pleasures, into which they plunged more precipitately and greedily, as they had not been accustomed to them. Soft beds, wine, delicate fare, wenching, baths and idleness, which became daily more agreeable to them, enervated both their bodies and minds to such a degree, that their being able to defend themselves after was rather the effect of the reputation of their former victories, than owing to their force. Judges in military affairs reckon the Carthaginian committed a greater error in taking this step, than in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For that neglect could only defer his victory, whereas this error deprived him of the forces necessary to conquer.



Thus in fact, he marched out of Capua in a manner with a new army, that retained nothing of it's ancient discipline. For most of them carried whores into the field with them, and when they came again to live as usual in camps, and undergo fatigue, they were like novices, wanting both strength and courage to support them. At length, during the whole campaign, many of them slip'd away without furloughs, and these deserters had no other asylum but Capua.

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XIX.

AS soon as the severity of the winter was abated, Hannibal quitted his winter quarters, and returned to Casilinum. Though he made no assault, yet as the blockade was continued, the inhabitants and garison were reduced to extreme famine. The dictator had gone to Rome to repeat the auspices, and Ti. Sempronius commanded in the Roman camp. Marcellus too had the strongest inclination to relieve the besieged ; but he was hindered by a swelling of the Volturnus, and the earnest solicitations of the Nolans and Acerrans, who dreaded being attacked by the Capuans, if the Roman garison should withdraw. Gracchus continued unactive before Casilinum, because the dictator had expressly forbid him to undertake any thing in his absence, though he was informed from the town that it suffered hardships, which would have subdued the most heroic fortitude. It is affirmed that several of them, not able to endure the hunger, threw themselves headlong from the walls ; others exposed themselves without defence to the darts of the enemy. These things vexed Gracchus extremely, but he durst not fight contrary to the dictator's orders, and yet he saw he must do it, if he intended openly to supply them with provisions, and he had no hopes of conveying them privately. He brought in all the corn from the neighboring country, and having packed many barrels full, he sent the governor of the town notice, to take them out as they came down the river. In consequence of this agreeable advice from the Romans, they



they carefully watched next night, and drew out the  
barrels as they came down the stream. They divided  
the corn equally among them. This they did for  
two more nights successively. For being put into

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the water, and arriving the same night, they were  
not observed by the enemy. But the current swell-  
ing more than usual by continual rains, drove the  
barrels to the opposite side where the enemy kept  
guard. There they were discovered sticking among  
the osiers that commonly grow on banks of rivers.  
Hannibal was informed of it, and from that time  
kept a stricter guard, so that nothing sent down  
the river could escape him. Yet the Romans pour-  
ed in nuts into the water, which swimming down the  
stream were taken out with hurdles at Casilinum. At  
last they were reduced to so great want, that they  
were obliged to eat the thongs and leather of their  
shields, after they had taken it off, and boiled it soft  
in water. Their hunger would not suffer them to  
spare mice or any other animal, and they dug up all  
the herbage and roots that grew at the bottom of the  
walls. And when the enemy ploughed all the ground  
that bore grass without the wall, they sowed it with  
turnip seed; so that Hannibal cried out, ‘What  
‘am I then to stay at Casilinum, till these turnips  
‘come to maturity?’ Wherefore, though he would  
never before hearken to terms, he at length suffered  
them to enter into a capitulation with him for ran-  
soming the freemen. Each of them was to pay seven  
ounces of gold<sup>a</sup>. Upon mutual securities they sur-  
rendered, remained prisoners till the money was paid,  
and then were sent to Cumæ under an escorte. This is  
a more genuine account than that they were cut to  
pieces by the cavalry as they were going away. The  
greatest part of this garison were Prænestines. Of  
570, whereof it consisted, near one half perished by  
sword or famine. The rest returned safe to Præ-  
neste, with their prætor Manicius, who had former-  
ly been a scribe. As a monument of this heroic de-

<sup>a</sup> About 22 l.



fence his statue was erected in the forum of Præneste, armed in a cuirass, and dressed in a Roman toga, with the head vail'd<sup>b</sup>. There were three other monuments of him, with this inscription on brazen labels, 'Manicius made a vow for the soldiers that garrisoned Casilinum.' The same was engraved on three pictures of him hung up in the temple of fortune.

CHAP. THE town was restored to the Campanians, and  
 XX. a garrison of 700 Carthaginians left in it, lest the Romans should take it in his absence. The Roman senate granted the Prænestines double pay, and exempted them from serving in the wars for five years. But none of them changed their habitation, when they might have been presented with the freedom of Rome for their bravery. We are more in the dark as to the fate of the Perusians, as we have neither monuments of their own, or any decree of the Romans to give us light in it. At the same time, not only the Carthaginians, who were masters of that country, but the other states of the Bruttians, attacked the people of Petellia, who alone had continued faithful to the Romans, because they would not become accomplices in their rebellion. The Petellini, being unable of themselves to repel those hostilities, sent deputies to Rome, to beg for a garrison. When they received for answer, 'that they must defend themselves,' they made bitter lamentations in the porch of the senate house, and their prayers and tears excited the compassion of the fathers and people. Wherefore the senate was again moved in their favor by the prætor M. Pomponius. But after considering what force they had all together, they were obliged to confess, that they could not defend their distant allies. So they ordered them to return home, and since they had fulfilled the treaty of alliance to the utmost of their power, they might in their present calamity take what steps they thought most for their interest. When the deputies returned to Petellia with this answer, it struck so sudden a panic and grief in-

<sup>b</sup> The head was always vail'd when they made a vow.



to the senators, that some of them were for quitting the city, and flying wherever they could, while some declared, that since they were abandoned by their ancient allies, they should join the other Brutians, and by their means surrender themselves to the Carthaginian. Yet that party prevailed, which was of opinion, they ought to do nothing rashly or precipitately, but begin to deliberate anew. The affair being postponed till next day, when their consternation had subsided, the principal persons came to a resolution, to convey all their effects out of the country, and fortify the walls and city.

ABOUT the same time letters arrived from Sicily and Sardinia. Those from Otacilius, proprætor of the former, were read in the senate. Their contents were, that L. Furius the prætor was arrived at Lilybæum with the fleet from Africa. He was dangerously wounded, and lay at the point of death. Neither the soldiers nor sailors could receive any pay or provision when due, for they had no funds for either. He strenuously pressed the senate to send both with the utmost expedition; and, if they thought proper, to send one of the new prætors to succede him. The letters from A. Corn. Mammula, proprætor of Sardinia, contained near the same demands of money and provisions. The senate answered both, that they must shift for their armies and fleets as well as they could; for Rome was not in a condition to supply them. Otacilius having sent deputies to king Hiero, the sole resource of the Roman people, received money sufficient for the pay, and six months provisions. In Sardinia the cities of the allies generously supplied Cornelius's wants. As money was very much wanted at Rome, Minucius, tribune of the people, brought in a bill for appointing L. Æmil. Papus, who had been both consul and censor, M. Atilius Regulus, who had been twice consul, and L. Scribonius Libo, one of the present plebeian tribunes, bankers to receive the public money. M. and C. Atilius were likewise appointed duumvirs to dedicate  
the

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the temple of Concord, which the prætor L. Manlius had vowed. Q. Cæcil. Metellus, Q. Fab. Maximus and Q. Fulv. Flaccus were chosen pontiffs in room of P. Scantinius who died, L. Æmil. Paullus the consul, and Q. Ælius Pætus, who were killed in the battle of Cannæ.

CHAP.  
XXII.

WHEN the fathers, as far as human policy extended, had repaired all other breaches, which fortune, by a successive train of calamities, had made in their state, they began to think of their own body, the desolate state of the senate, and the want of members to consult on public affairs. Since the censorship of L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, the vacancies in the senate had not been filled up, notwithstanding so many senators had been swept away within the space of five years by defeats in the field, besides other accidents that happened to individuals. As the dictator had set out for the army after the taking of Casilinum, the prætor, M. Pomponius, at the unanimous request of the members, laid this affair before the house. Then Sp. Carvilius, having in a long speech lamented not only the want, but the small number of citizens, from amongst whom they might chuse senators, proposed, as a matter of vast consequence, that, in order effectually to supply the vacancies, and more firmly to unite the Latine states to their interest, two senators should be chosen out of each Latine state, be made denizens of Rome, if the fathers approved of it, and be substituted in room of the dead members. The senate received this proposal with as much indignation, as they formerly did a similar demand of the same Latines. A general rage and murmur filled the house. In particular, Manlius said, ‘ there still survived a man of that family, a consul of which had formerly threatened in the capitol to kill with his own hand any Latine he should see in the senate house.’ Q. Fab. Maximus said, ‘ that nothing had ever been mentioned in senate at a more improper juncture ; when the minds of our allies are wavering, and their fidelity doubtful, a hint



‘ hint of this kind might excite them to abandon us. CHAP.  
 ‘ Therefore they ought all to bury in silence the XXII.  
 ‘ speech of this rash man. If ever any public deli-  
 ‘ beration ought to be kept an inviolable secret, this,  
 ‘ in a more especial manner, ought to be concealed,  
 ‘ hid and buried in oblivion, and reputed as a thing  
 ‘ that never had been mentioned.’ In consequence it  
 was inviolably suppressed. It was resolved, that a  
 person who had formerly been censor, and the oldest  
 man living who had exercised that office, should be  
 nominated dictator, to chuse the new senators. They  
 likewise ordered C. Terent. Varro the consul to be  
 sent for to nominate the dictator. Having left a ga-  
 rison in Apulia, he posted to Rome, and next night,  
 according to custom, in conformity to the senate’s de-  
 cree, nominated M. Fab. Buteo dictator for six  
 months, without a general of horse.

M. Fabius  
Buteo dic-  
tator.

AS soon as the new dictator ascended the tribune CHAP.  
 of harangues, attended by the lictors, he thus ad- XXIII.  
 dressed the assembly. ‘ I do not approve of this in-  
 ‘ novation, having two dictators at once; that I am  
 ‘ raised to that dignity without a general of horse;  
 ‘ that the authority of censor should be conferred on  
 ‘ the same person twice, or that a dictator should be  
 ‘ continued in office for six months, except for mak-  
 ‘ ing war. Since therefore our misfortunes, the pre-  
 ‘ sent conjuncture, and necessity have obliged us to  
 ‘ have recourse to these illegal methods, I will en-  
 ‘ deavor to act as near as possible within their due  
 ‘ limits. I will not degrade any senator, whom the  
 ‘ censors C. Flaminius and L. Æmilius advanced to  
 ‘ that dignity; I will only order them to be entered  
 ‘ again on the roll, and have their names called,  
 ‘ that a single person may not have it in his power  
 ‘ to be supreme judge and arbiter of the character  
 ‘ and morals of a senator. With respect to supply-  
 ‘ ing the seats vacant by death, it shall appear, that  
 ‘ I shall prefer persons according to the order of their  
 ‘ promotion to offices, and according to their rank,  
 ‘ without any partiality in favor of particular men.’

Having



CHAP. XXIII. Having called over the roll of ancient senators, he first supply'd the places of the dead with such as had exercised curule magistracies since the censorship of L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, but had not yet been called up to the house. He chose each in the order in which he had been a magistrate. Then he chose such as had been ædiles, plebeian tribunes and questors. And lastly, of such as had not exercised any offices, he chose those as could shew spoils of enemies fixed up in their houses, or had been rewarded with civic crowns. Thus having with universal approbation chosen 177 new senators, he immediately abdicated his office, and came down from the tribune in a private character. Having ordered his lictors to withdraw, he mingled with the crowd, who were busied about their private affairs, purposely wasting the time, to avoid being conducted by the populace in pomp from the forum home. But this stay did not cool the people's affection, and he was attended home by a very numerous train. The consul set out for the army next night, without apprizing the senate, for fear they should detain him to hold the election for consuls.

CHAP. XXIV. NEXT day, on a motion made by M. Pomponius the prætor, the senate resolved to write to the dictator, to come to the city, in case the affairs of the state would permit, to chuse consuls, and bring with him the general of horse, and the prætor M. Marcellus, that the senate might consult them in person upon the state of the republic, and concert measures proper to be followed. They all repaired to Rome as ordered, having left the command of their armies to their lieutenant generals. The dictator spoke little, and with great modesty, of himself, bestowing the greatest share of the glory on Ti. Semp. Gracchus, his general of horse. Then he assembled the comitia, in which L. Posthumius, then proconsul of Gaul, was chosen consul a third time in his absence, with T. Semp. Gracchus, the present general of horse, who was on the spot. Then M. Val. Lævinus,

L. Posthumius, T. S. Gracchus, consuls.  
Y. of R. 537.  
B. J. C. 215.



vinus, Ap. Claud. Pulcher, Q. Fulv. Flaccus, Q. CHAP.  
Mucius Scævola, were chosen prætors. The dicta- XXIV.  
tor, after having chosen the magistrates, returned to  
put his troops into winter quarters at Téanum. He  
left behind him in the city the general of horse, that,  
as he was to enter upon office in a few days, he  
might consult with the fathers concerning the armies  
to be raised and employed the following year. This  
year misfortune succeeded misfortune; for while they  
were busily employed about these things, advice ar-  
rived, that L. Posthumius, consul elect, with all his  
army was destroyed. He was to march his troops  
through a vast wood, which the Gauls called Litana\*.  
On the right and left of his rout, the natives had saw-  
ed the trees in such a manner, that they continued  
standing upright, but would fall with the least force.  
Posthumius had with him two Roman légions, and  
besides had levied a great number of allies along the  
Adriatic sea; so that he entered the enemies country  
at the head of 25000 men. As soon as this army en-  
tered the wood, the Gauls, who were posted at it's  
extremities, pushed down the outermost of the sawed  
trees. These, falling on those next them, and they  
again on others, which stood tottering, and scarce  
hanging together, crushed arms, men and horse, in  
so dreadful a manner, that scarce ten men escaped.  
For most of them being killed by the trunks and  
broken boughs of trees, the Gauls, who lined the  
wood quite round, killed the rest, during their con-  
sternation at so unexpected a disaster. A very small  
number were taken prisoners, who attempted to escape  
by a bridge, being surrounded on it by the enemy  
who had beset it before. Here Posthumius fell, fight-  
ing with all his force to prevent his being taken. The  
Boii, having cut off his head, carried it, and the  
spoils they stript off his body, in triumph into the  
most sacred temple amongst them. Afterwards they  
extracted the brains, and took off the flesh, accord-  
ing to their custom; and having chased the skull

\* Near Bologna and Modena.



with gold, used it as a cup for libations in their solemn sacrifices, and for the high priests and other ministers of the temple to drink out of. The spoils they took were proportioned to the victory. For, though great numbers of the carriage beasts were crushed to death by the trees, yet, as nothing was lost by flight, every thing else was found in their order as the troops lay dead.

CHAP. WHEN the news of this disaster arrived, it  
 XXV. threw the state into so great a panic for many days, that the shops were shut up, and the city was as much a solitude, as if it had been midnight. Then the senate ordered the ædiles to go round the city, cause the shops to be opened, and remove this appearance of public affliction. Ti. Sempronius having assembled the senate, consoled and encouraged the fathers. ‘ Since, said he, you sustained the defeat  
 ‘ at Cannæ with so much magnanimity, be not now  
 ‘ overwhelmed with less calamities. If our arms  
 ‘ shall prosper, as it is to be hoped they will, against  
 ‘ Hannibal and the Carthaginians, the war with the  
 ‘ Gauls may be neglected and deferred without hazard. With the help of the Gods, the Romans  
 ‘ will have it in their power to revenge the treachery of the Gauls another time. The subject of  
 ‘ our present deliberations ought to be the Carthaginian war, and the forces with which it is to be prosecuted.’ He first laid before them the number of foot and horse, as well citizens as allies, that were in the dictator’s army. Then Marcellus gave an account of his. Those who knew were asked what troops were in Apulia with C. Terent. Varro the consul. Upon deliberation, they found they could not raise consular armies sufficient to support so important a war. For this reason, notwithstanding the just cause they had to be irritated against the Gauls, they determined to think no more of them for that year. The dictator’s army was assigned the consul. ‘ They  
 ‘ ordered the corps of Marcellus’s camp, who had  
 ‘ fled from Cannæ, to be transported to Sicily, to  
 ‘ serve



' serve there as long as the war continued in Italy.  
 ' Thither likewise were ordered to be carried the  
 ' weakest of the dictator's troops, but without con-  
 ' fining them to longer service than the legal num-  
 ' ber of campaigns. The two legions in the city  
 ' were likewise voted to the other consul who should  
 ' be elected in room of Posthumius. Orders were  
 ' also given for his being elected as soon as the au-  
 ' spices would permit. Besides two legions were im-  
 ' mediately to be recalled from Sicily, out of which  
 ' the consul, to whom the city legions should fall,  
 ' should take what number of men he should have  
 ' occasion for. The consul C. Terent. Varro was  
 ' continued in his command for one year, without  
 ' lessening the army he had for the defence of  
 ' Apulia.

DURING these transactions and preparations in CHAP.  
 Italy, the war in Spain was prosecuted with no less XXVI.  
 vigor. Hitherto the Romans had had the advantage  
 there. The two generals had divided their troops,  
 so that Cneius acted by land, and Publius by sea.  
 Asdrubal general of the Carthaginians, not having  
 force sufficient to cope with them on either element,  
 durst not approach them, securing himself by his di-  
 stance from the enemy. After much solicitation he  
 had a supply of 4000 foot and 500 horse sent him  
 out of Africa. This reinforcement inspired him with  
 fresh hopes, and he moved nearer the enemy. He  
 also ordered a fleet to be refitted and prepared, for  
 the protection of the islands and sea coasts. In the  
 very beginning of his strenuous endeavors to rein-  
 state the war, he was greatly embarrassed by the de-  
 sertion of the captains of his ships. They had enter-  
 tained a secret grudge at the general and Cartha-  
 ginians, ever since they were severely reprimanded  
 for abandoning the fleet in a cowardly manner  
 at the Ebro. These deserters raised an insur-  
 rection among the Carthesians <sup>a</sup>, and prevailed with  
 some cities to revolt. They likewise took one by

<sup>a</sup> Near Arragon.



CHAP. force. Upon this Asdrubal turned from the Romans,  
 XXVI. to carry the war into that country, which he entered  
 with fire and sword. In a few days he appeared before the walls of that town which was taken, and resolved to attack Galbus, general of the Carthefians, who kept within his lines with a strong army. In consequence, he detached his light-armed troops before to provoke the enemy to a battle, and part of his infantry to ravage the country, and to pick up stragglers. This produced a skirmish before the camp, at the same time that many were killed and put to flight in the fields. But after they had all, by different routs, returned to their camp, they quickly shaken off all fear, and had courage enough not only to defend their lines, but to attack the enemy. They sallied out in a body, dancing according to their custom. This sudden boldness terrified the enemy, who a little before had provoked them. On this account Asdrubal then drew off his troops to an eminence, pretty steep and very safe, having a river between him and the enemy. Here the parties of light-armed troops and horse that had been detached, rejoined him. But not thinking himself sufficiently secured by the eminence and river, he drew lines round his army. During the mutual fears on both sides, several skirmishes happened. The Numidian cavalry were not so good as the Spanish, nor the Moorish archers so good as the Spanish targetiers, who equalled them in swiftness, but were superior to them in strength and courage.

CHAP. The enemy seeing they could not, by coming up  
 XXVII. to Asdrubal's camp, provoke him to a battle, nor  
 attack his lines without great hazard, stormed Ase-  
 na<sup>a</sup>, whither the Carthaginian, on entering their territories, had conveyed all his provisions and stores. By this they became masters of all the country. This made them quite ungovernable, both without and within their camp. Asdrubal perceived their negligence, the usual consequence of success, and exhorted his troops to attack them while they were straggling  
 from

<sup>a</sup> Now *Almeda*.



from their colors. Then he came down the hill, and advanced to their camp in order of battle. The enemy took the alarm, as soon as their scouts, who fled with precipitation from his advanced guard, informed them of his coming. As each could get his arms, he rushed precipitately to battle, without orders, without colors, without being formed, and in the greatest confusion. The first of them had engaged while some were running about in troops, and before great numbers had got out of their camp. However, the boldness of their first attack terrified the enemy. But when they charged their close ranks with their own, which were thin, and were not able to defend themselves for want of numbers, they looked behind them for their other troops. And being pressed on all quarters, they drew up in form of a circle, where being so close pent up, body to body, armor to armor, that they had not room to wield their arms, they were surrounded by the enemy, who continued to slaughter them a great part of the day. A small number, having forced a passage, gained the woods and hills. Their camp was abandoned in a like consternation, and next day the whole nation submitted. But it did not continue long quiet, for Asdrubal received orders from Carthage to march into Italy with all expedition. The report of this spreading over Spain made all the states declare for the Romans. He wrote immediately to Carthage, to inform them, ‘ of the dangerous effects the report  
‘ of his march had produced. If he did leave Spain,  
‘ the Romans would be masters of it all before he  
‘ could pass the Ebro. For besides that he had nei-  
‘ ther general or army, whom he could leave to de-  
‘ fend it, so great were the abilities of the Roman  
‘ generals, who commanded there, that they could  
‘ scarcely be opposed with equal forces. If there-  
‘ fore, they had any concern for preserving Spain,  
‘ they ought to send a general with a powerful army  
‘ to succede him. And however successful his suc-  
‘ cessor might prove, yet he would find sufficient  
‘ employment in the province.’



## CHAP.

XXVIII.

THOUGH these letters made at first some impression on the senate, yet, as they reckoned the war in Italy of more importance, and preferably to be supported, they did not alter their resolution in relation to Asdrubal and his troops. However they dispatched Himilco with a good army, but a greater fleet, to preserve and defend Spain both by sea and land. When he arrived with his forces and fleet, having encamped his troops and drawn up his ships on dry land, he marched with all possible expedition through people who were either wavering or actually enemies, to join Asdrubal with the cavalry. As soon as he had informed him of the resolutions and orders of the senate, and in his turn been told in what manner to prosecute the war in Spain, he returned to his camp. His expedition alone saved him, for he quitted every place before the people could agree how to seize him. Before Asdrubal quitted his camp, he laid all the states, in subjection to him, under contribution. He knew well, that Hannibal purchased a passage through some nations; that the Gauls would never have aided him if they had not been hired, and that if he had undertaken that march without money, he had never penetrated so far as the Alps. For this reason he exacted money with great rigor, and marched down to the Ebro. As soon as the Roman generals got notice of the Carthaginian senate's resolution, and Asdrubal's march, they renounced all other affairs, and uniting their forces, determined to meet him and oppose his attempt. They reflected, that when it was already so difficult to make head against Hannibal in Italy, the Roman empire would be utterly ruined, should Asdrubal join him with an army from Spain. In this perplexity they rendezvoused at the Ebro, passed that river, and were long in consultation whether they should encamp near the enemy, or were capable, by attacking his allies, to stop his intended march. At length they resolved to attack Ibera, which had it's name from it's proximity to the river Ebro, and at that time the richest city



city in that country. When Asdrubal perceived this, in order to succor his allies, he advanced to attack a city, which had lately declared for the Romans. By this means the Romans quitted the siege after it was begun, and marched against Asdrubal himself.

THE two armies lay encamped at five miles distance from each other for some days, and fought some skirmishes without coming to a general action. At length, on the same day, as if by concert, both gave the signal of battle, and marched down into the plain with all their forces. The Romans were marshalled in three lines. Part of the light-armed troops were posted amongst those in the front line, and part in the rear. The cavalry covered the wings. The Spaniards made Asdrubal's main body. In the right wing he posted the Carthaginians, and the Africans on the left. As to the auxiliary cavalry, the Numidians were posted with the Carthaginian foot, and the rest with the Africans. All the Numidians were not posted on the right, only those who, like vaulters, leading two horses, were accustomed, in the heat of the action, to leap in their armor from the tired to the fresh ; so great was their agility, and so docile were their horses in observing their motions. While they stood thus form'd in battalia, the generals on both sides had different motives to hope for victory. Their troops were pretty equal both in number and quality, but their courage and sentiments were very different. For though the Romans were making war far from their own country, yet their generals had easily persuaded them that they fought for Italy and Rome itself. Convinced therefore that their return home depended on the issue of this battle, they fought, obstinately determined to fight or die. The other army was composed of men who were not so resolute. They were mostly Spaniards, who chose rather to be defeated in Spain, than to conquer in order to be dragged into Italy. Accordingly, at the first charge, and almost before a dart was thrown, their main body gave way, and upon the Romans pressing furiously

CHAP.  
XXIX.



CHAP. after them, fled. However the wings did not fight  
 XXIX. with less ardor. The Carthaginians on one, the Africans on the other, charged briskly, and kept the enemy, as it were, close environed. But as soon as the Roman main body had advanced into the middle, it was sufficiently able to break the enemy's wings. Thus there were two separate battles, in both which the Romans, after beating the enemy's main body, were much superior both in numbers and strength. Much blood was shed, and had not the Spaniards fled precipitately while the other troops were engaged, but very few of the whole army had survived. The cavalry did not engage at all. For the Moors and Numidians no sooner saw the centre give way, than they fled, and by driving the elephants before them, left the wings exposed. Asdrubal staid to the last of the battle, and then escaped from the midst of the slaughter with a small number of men. The Romans took and rifled the Carthaginian camp. The success of this battle confirmed such of the Spanish states as wavered in the interests of Rome; and deprived Asdrubal of all hopes, not only of carrying his troops into Italy, but even of remaining with safety in Spain. When Scipio's letters made this success known at Rome, it occasioned great joy, not because they had obtained a victory, but because Asdrubal had been prevented from passing into Italy.

CHAP. DURING these transactions in Spain, Petellia,  
 xxx. in Bruttium, was taken by Himilco, Hannibal's lieutenant, some months after it had been invested. This victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds. And the besieged were reduced by famine and not by force. For after all their provisions of corn were consumed, and all the cattle whose flesh is commonly eaten, they lived at last upon skins of boars, herbs, roots, tender barks of trees, and brambles which they gathered. Neither were they taken while they had strength to stand on the walls and wield their weapons. The Carthaginian, after having reduced Petellia, marched to Consentia<sup>a</sup>, which, not

<sup>a</sup> *Cosenza, in Hither Calabria.*



being so stoutly defended, was surrendered to him within a few days. About the same time an army of Bruttians invested Croton, a city on the Greek coast. Formerly it had abounded in wealth and inhabitants, but lately had met with so many and great disasters, that there were not 20000 inhabitants of all ages in it. Accordingly, as there were none to defend it, the enemy made themselves masters of it without any difficulty. But the castle, into which several had escaped from the slaughter by advantage of the confusion at taking the town, held out. The people of Locris also revolted to the Bruttians and Carthaginians. The commons in it were betrayed by the principal men. The inhabitants of Rhegium were the only people of that country that maintained their fidelity to the Romans and their own liberty to the last. The disposition to revolt reached Sicily, and even all Hiero's family did not escape the infection. Gelo his eldest son despising his father's old age, and the Roman alliance after the defeat at Cannæ, revolted to the Carthaginians. And Sicily had certainly risen in arms, if, while he was arming the multitude and soliciting the allies, he had not been carried off by a death so seasonable, that even his father was calumniated as author of it. These were the successes on both sides, in Italy, Africa, Sicily and Spain, during this year. In the end of the year Q. Fabius Maximus demanded leave of the senate to dedicate the temple he had vowed to Venus Erycina in his dictatorship. The senate resolved, that Ti. Sempronius, the consul elect, should move the commons, as soon as he entered upon office, to appoint Q. Fabius duumvir in order to dedicate the temple. The three sons of M. Æmilius Lepidus, who had been twice consul and augur, Lucius, Marcus and Quintus, celebrated in the forum funeral games for three days, and a combat of twenty two gladiators of a side in honor of their father. The curule ædiles, C. Lætorius, and the consul elect, who had been general of horse during his ædileship, exhibited the Roman games, which were continued



CHAP. three days. The plebeian games were perform'd  
 xxx. during the like number of days, by their ædiles, M. Aurelius Cotta and M. Claud. Marcellus. When the third year of the Punic war was passed, the consul Sempronius entered upon his office on the fifteenth of march. The jurisdiction of the city fell by lot to Q. Fulv. Flaccus, who had been consul and censor before; and that of strangers to M. Val. Lævinus. Ap. Claud. Pulcher got Sicily, and Q. Mucius Scævola, Sardinia by lot. The people ordained that M. Marcellus should be continued in command in quality of proconsul, because he was the only Roman general, who had defeated Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ.

CHAP. THE first day the senate assembled in the capi-  
 xxxi. tol to deliberate on publick affairs, they resolv'd, that a double tax should be rais'd that year, the half whereof should be immediately levied, to discharge the arrears of all the troops, except those that had fled at Cannæ. As to the armies, they came to the following resolutions. The consul Sempronius was to appoint two city legions, to rendezvous at Cale against a fixed day. From thence six legions were to march to Marcellus's camp above Sueffula. The legions, that were there, and which were principally those that had been at Cannæ, Ap. Claudius was to transport into Sicily, and send back the troops in that province to Rome. The day was fixed for the rendezvous at Cale, and Marcellus was sent to march the city legions to his own camp. Ap. Claudius detached his lieutenant T. Metilius Croto to receive Marcellus's old legions, and transport them into Sicily. Every body, without muttering, expected, that the consul would assemble the comitia to elect a colleague. But when they saw Marcellus, whom they earnestly desired to have consul that year, for his success when prætor, purposely sent out of the way, a great murmur arose in the senate. When the consul perceived this, he said, ' Every thing, conscript fathers, has been done for the good of the repub-  
 lic.



‘ lic. M. Claudius was obliged to go to Campania CHAP.  
 ‘ to exchange armies, and I have not appointed the XXXI.  
 ‘ comitia, till he return, after having executed his  
 ‘ commission ; that you might have such a consul as  
 ‘ the exigencies of the state require, and you your-  
 ‘ selves approve.’ Accordingly no farther mention  
 was made of the comitia till Marcellus returned. In  
 the interim Q. Fabius Max. and T. Otacilius Crassus  
 were appointed duumvirs to dedicate temples. The  
 latter dedicated one to Good Counsel, and the former  
 one to Venus Erycina. They both stood in the ca-  
 pitol, and were separated with the same channel. A  
 bill was brought before the people for naturalizing the  
 three hundred Campanian knights who had come to  
 Rome, after having faithfully done their duty in Si-  
 cily ; and likewise that they should be made denizens  
 of Cumæ from the day that the Capuans had revolted  
 from the Romans. The principal motive for bring-  
 ing in this bill, was, that these men insisted, they did  
 not know to whom they belonged ; for they had left  
 their native country, and were not yet incorporated  
 with the people of that to which they were returned.  
 As soon as Marcellus returned from the army, the  
 comitia was fixed for the election of a consul in room  
 of Posthumius. Marcellus was unanimously chosen,  
 and would immediately have entered upon his office.  
 But as a clap of thunder was heard the moment he  
 was about it, the augurs were consulted, who declared  
 they thought his election defective. The senators  
 spread a report, that the Gods were not pleased to  
 have two plebeian consuls, which had never happen-  
 ed before. When he abdicated, Fabius Maximus was  
 elected in his room. This was his third consulate.  
 The sea appeared on fire that year. At Sinuessæ a  
 cow brought forth a mule. In the temple of Juno  
 Sospita at Lanuvium, the statues sweated blood ; and  
 it rained stones round that temple. A sacrifice for  
 nine days, as customary in like cases, was performed  
 on account of this shower, and the other prodigies  
 were carefully expiated.





THE consuls divided the troops betwixt them. Fabius got the army which Junius the dictator had commanded. Sempronius had the Volones, and 25000 allies. The legions that had returned from Sicily were assigned to M. Valerius the prætor. The proconsul Marcellus was sent to the army that lay above Sueffula to guard Nola. The prætors for Sicily and Sardinia set out for their respective provinces. The consuls issued a proclamation, that as often as the senate should be summoned, such senators who had a right to give their opinion on the state of affairs in the senate, should assemble at the gate Capena. The prætors, who were judges in civil causes, erected their tribunals in the open fish-market. Thither they ordered all writs to be returned, and during that year they heard all causes there. In the mean time, when Mago, Hannibal's brother, was on the point of setting out for Italy with 12000 foot, 1500 horse, 20 elephants, and a thousand talents of silver<sup>a</sup>, under convoy of 60 men of war, the news arrived at Carthage, that their army had been defeated in Spain, and that most of the cantons of that nation had revolted to the Romans. Some declared for Mago's laying aside all thoughts of Italy, and going to Spain with that fleet, and those forces. But a sudden incident flattered them with the hopes of recovering Sardinia. 'The Romans had only few troops there; ' the old prætor, A. Cornelius, who was well acquainted with the province, was going away, and ' a new one expected. Besides, the Sardinians were ' weary of the Roman yoke, which the preceding ' year had laid very heavy and severe upon them. ' They had been oppressed with a heavy tax, and an ' unjust contribution of corn. In short they wanted ' nothing but a leader to make them revolt.' The principal men in the island sent this message privately, but the chief abettor of the scheme was Hampsychora, by far the most powerful and wealthy man in it. Being perplexed and elated with these different

<sup>a</sup> 150000 l. sterling.



advices at the same time, they sent Mago with the fleet and troops into Spain. They pitched upon Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, to go general into Sardinia, and assigned him near as many troops as Mago had. At Rome, the consuls having finished all their business in the city, began to think of taking the field. Sempronius fixed a day for his troops to rendezvous at Sinuessæ. Q. Fabius, having first obtained an act of senate for the purpose, ordered all the corn out of the country into the fortified towns before the first of June, declaring, ‘ he would ravage his lands, sell his slaves, and burn his farm-houses, who should disobey.’ Even the prætors, who had been chosen for the administration of justice, were not exempted from military service. Valerius was ordered into Apulia, to receive the army from Varro. When the legions should arrive from Sicily, he was to employ them for the defence of that country, and send Terentius’s army to Sicily, under command of some lieutenant general. He had likewise a fleet of 25 sail assigned him to protect the sea-coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number of ships had the city prætor, Q. Fulvius, to cover the coast near Rome. The proconsul Varro was ordered to levy troops in the territories of Picenum, with which he was to guard that country. T. Otacilius, after having dedicated a temple in the capitol to good counsel, was sent to Sicily to command the fleet there.

CHAP.  
xxxii.

ALL the kings and nations had their attention fixed on this contest between the two most powerful states in the world. In particular Philip king of Macedon had his eye upon it, as he was a nearer neighbor to Italy, from which he was only separated by the Ionian sea. When he first received advice that Hannibal had passed the Alps, he was rejoiced that a war had broke out between the Romans and Carthaginians. While their strength seemed equal, his inclinations fluctuated, and he knew not for which of the two to wish victory might declare. But after

CHAP.  
xxxiii.

hear-



CHAP. XXXIII. hearing that the Carthaginians had got the victory in three successive battles, he declared for the fortunate side, and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These deputies, avoiding the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum, because Roman ships were stationed to guard them, landed at the temple of Juno Lacinia<sup>a</sup>. From thence crossing Apulia, they took the rout of Capua, fell into the middle of the Romans who guarded that country, and were carried before the prætor Valerius, who was then encamped at Luceria. There Xenophanes, chief of the embassy, without being confounded, said, that he was sent to the consuls, senate, and people of Rome, from king Philip, with instructions to treat of an alliance. Valerius, overjoy'd at the thoughts of a new alliance with so famous a prince, at a time when the republic was abandoned by it's ancient allies, received those enemies as friends. He sent guides with them carefully to point out the safest way, and what posts were possessed by the Romans, what by the Carthaginians. Xenophanes having passed through the Roman guards into Campania, went from thence the nearest way to Hannibal's camp, with whom he made peace on the following terms. ' That king Philip should make a descent  
' on Italy with as great a fleet as he could, (it was  
' supposed to be about 200 ships) ravage the sea-  
' coast, and on his side prosecute the war both by  
' sea and land. When the war was terminated, all  
' Italy, Rome itself, and the whole spoil should be  
' ceded to the Carthaginians and to Hannibal. When  
' Italy was thus totally subdued, they should carry  
' their arms into Greece, and make war upon such  
' as Philip should think proper. All the cities on  
' the continent and the islands bordering upon Ma-  
' cedonia, should be annexed to Philip's dominions.'

CHAP. XXXIV. THESE were very near the conditions upon which a treaty was concluded between the Punic general and the Macedonian ambassadors. Gisgo, Bostar, and Mago, were sent to see the king ratify

<sup>a</sup> At a promontory in *Calabria*.



it in person. They repaired to the same temple of Juno Lacinia, where their vessel lay concealed in the road. Here they embarked, and when got out to sea were descried by the Roman fleet which guarded the coasts of Calabria. P. Val. Flaccus made the signal for some frigates to chase and bring back their ship. The ambassadors at first attempted to escape. But perceiving the pursuers came fast up, they struck. When they were brought before the admiral, he asked them, who they were, and whence they came? Xenophanes, whose lie had once already succeeded, replied at first that he had been sent by king Philip as ambassador to the Romans; that he had gone to M. Valerius, because he could go no where else in safety. He could not cross Campania, because it was closely guarded by enemies. The Carthaginian habit and language made the prætor suspect Hannibal's ambassadors when they were examined. Then their companions being removed, and they intimidated with fear of punishment, they discovered Hannibal's letters to Philip, and the articles of peace between the Macedonian prince and Carthaginian general. When the prætor had got sufficient information, he thought it best, with all expedition, to send the prisoners and their train to the senate at Rome, or to the consuls wherever they should be. For this purpose he detached five frigates under command of L. Valerius Antias. He ordered him to separate the ambassadors by putting them on board different ships, and to take care, that they had no opportunity of conversing or consulting together. About the same time, A. Corn. Mamula, who had returned from his province of Sardinia, made a report at Rome of the state of the affairs of that island. Every body expected a war and general revolt. His successor Mucius, by the gross and moist air of the climate, had been taken ill on his arrival. His distemper was more lingering than dangerous, and would render him for a long time incapable of undergoing the fatigue of the war. Though the army in the island

CHAP.

xxxiv.

was



CHAP. was sufficiently strong to overawe a subjected people,  
 xxxiv. yet it was not able to sustain the war which was likely to break out. The fathers therefore ordered Q. Fulvius Flaccus to levy 5000 foot and 400 horse, and to transport that legion with all expedition into Sardinia, under such a general as he should chuse to command there till Mucius should recover. T. Manlius Torquatus, who had been twice consul and censor, and had subdued the Sardinians during his consulate, was sent on this expedition. About the same time the fleet, sent from Carthage for Sardinia, under the command of Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, meeting with a terrible storm, was driven to the Balearian islands. Not only their rigging, but the hulls of their vessels were so damaged, that they were obliged to be heaved down to be repaired. Thus they lost a great deal of time.

CHAP. IN Italy the war had not been vigorously prosecuted after the battle of Cannæ, which had much reduced the strength of the Romans, while the pleasures of Capua enervated the Carthaginians. But the Campanians undertook of themselves to subject the state of Cumæ. At first they solicited them to revolt from the Romans; but as that method did not succede, they laid a stratagem to circumvent them. All the Campanians used to meet at an annual sacrifice at Hamæ<sup>a</sup>. They informed the Cumans that the senate of Capua would be there, and beg'd their senate might come to deliberate all together, who they would reckon as allies, and who as enemies. They would have an army there to preserve them against any danger either from the Romans or Carthaginians. The Cumans suspected some treachery, but accepted the invitation, thinking by that means they would be best enabled to discover the cheat. In the mean time, Sempronius, the Roman consul, having reviewed his army on the day which he had fixed for their rendezvouzing at Sinuessâ, passed the Vol-

<sup>a</sup> Near *Capua* and the present forest of *Di Hami*.



turnus, and encamped at Liternum<sup>b</sup>. Because his troops were idle in this camp, he obliged them often to file off under arms, in order to accustom them who were new raised, and that had entered voluntarily, to follow their colors, and know their ranks in battle. These exercises were the chief of the general's study then, and he ordered the lieutenant generals and legionary tribunes to take care, ' that no quarrels should arise among the troops about preference by scornful reflections on any one's former condition: that the old soldiers should suffer the recruits to be on a level with them, and the men of free condition do the same by the voluntier slaves. Every one should be esteemed honorable and well descended, to whom the Roman people had confided her arms and ensigns. The same pressing circumstances which had obliged them to have recourse to these methods, ought to induce them to support them.' The generals were not more careful about giving these orders, than the soldiers were in observing them; and in a short time there subsisted so cordial an harmony and affection among them, that the condition from which each was taken to be a soldier was quite forgot. While Sempronius was thus employed, deputies from Cumæ informed him of the message which had been sent them a few days before from the Campanians, and the reply they had made. The festival was to begin in three days, and not only all the senate but the army of Campania would be present. The consul ordered the Cumans to convey all their effects from their farms into their city, and to keep within their walls. The day before the festival began, he advanced to Cumæ, from whence Hamæ was three miles distant. The Campanians by concert were already assembled there in great numbers. Not far from the place, Marius Alfius, the Campanian dictator, was privately encamped with 14000 men. He was more busily employed

<sup>b</sup> At the mouth of a river of the same name, where now stands an ancient tower called *Torre di Patria*.



CHAP. in laying his treacherous scheme, than in preparing  
 xxxv. for the sacrifice, fortifying his camp, or any other  
 military operation. The festival was to last three  
 days at Hamæ. It begun in the evening, and ended  
 at midnight. The consul, thinking it a good opportunity to surprize them, posted guards at the gates to prevent any one's going out to give intelligence of his design. He assembled his soldiers, ordered them to dine at three o'clock, and then go to sleep, that they might rendezvous at the signal in the evening. About the first watch he ordered the colors to move, and marching away in a profound silence arrived about midnight at Hamæ. He found the Campanian camp without guards, and attacked all the gates of the town at once. Some he killed lying fast asleep, and others as they were returning without their arms from the festival which was breaking up. In this nocturnal skirmish 2000 of the enemy were killed, with M. Alfius their general, and 34 military ensigns taken.

CHAP. GRACCHUS, having made himself master of  
 xxxvi. the enemy's camp, with the loss of fewer than a hundred men, retired with expedition to Cumæ for fear of Hannibal, who lay encamped at Tifata above Capua. He judged right in being thus provident. For as soon as the news of this defeat arrived at Capua, the Carthaginian, imagining that he would find the Roman army, which consisted for most part of raw soldiers and slaves, insolent after their victory, busy rifling the dead, and carrying off the booty from Hamæ, marched with great expedition by Capua. Thither he sent an escorte with such of the Campanian fugitives as he met on the road, and ordered the wounded to be carried in waggons. He found no enemy in the camp at Hamæ, and saw nothing but the traces of the late slaughter, and the dead bodies of his allies stretched on the ground. Some advised him to march directly thence, and besiege Cumæ. Though Hannibal, since he could not take Naples, was extremely desirous at least to get  
 I pos-



possession of Cumæ, a maritime city; yet as his soldiers in their hurry had brought nothing but their arms with them, he retired to his camp at Tifata. But at the importunate sollicitations of the Campanians, he returned next day with all the apparatus for besieging it. Having ravaged all its lands, he encamped within a mile of the town. Sempronius remained in it, rather through shame of abandoning, in such a pressing conjuncture, allies, who implored his protection and that of the Roman people, than from any confidence he had in his troops. The other consul, Fabius, who was encamped at Cale, durst not pass the Volturnus. He was occupied first in repeating the auspices, and then with prodigies, which were reported on the back of one another. When he was engaged in expiating them, the haruspices told him, it would be a difficult matter to appease the Gods.

CHAP.

XXXVI.

WHILE Fabius was detained in this manner, Sempronius was invested, and the machines applied to the walls. Against a huge wooden tower, with which the enemy approached the wall, the consul raised another somewhat higher than it, even by the height of the wall. As the wall was high enough, he drove great piles into it to support the tower, and made it serve the same purposes as the even ground. The besieged at first defended their walls and city with stones, barbed spears, and other missile weapons. But when they saw the tower brought close up to the wall, they threw burning torches and plenty of combustible stuff into it. This fire terrified the enemy, and made them abandon the tower with precipitation. Upon this the besieged, sallying out at two gates at once, drove the enemy from their posts, and pursued them to their camp; so that the Carthaginian seemed that day to be besieged, rather than besieging the Romans. One thousand three hundred of his men were killed, and 59 taken prisoners, who were surprized standing carelessly on their posts round the walls, and expecting nothing less than a sally.

CHAP.

XXXVII.



CHAP. fally. Before the enemy could recover from their  
 XXXVII. consternation, Sempronius founded a retreat, and  
 drew his men within the walls. Next day Hannibal, flattering himself that the consul, flushed with the advantage he had obtained, would give him battle, drew up his army between his camp and the city. But seeing he did not stir from defending the walls, and would hazard nothing rashly, he returned to Tifata, disappointed of his aim. About the time the siege of Cumæ was raised, Ti. Sempronius, surnamed Longus, defeated Hanno, a Carthaginian, at Grumentum<sup>a</sup> in Lucania. He killed above 2000 of the enemy, and lost only 280 of his own men. He took 41 military ensigns. On this defeat Hanno retired into Bruttium. The prætor, M. Valerius, also recovered by force three cities of the Hirpini, which had revolted from the Romans. He beheaded Vercelius, Viscellius and Sicilius, the authors of the revolt, sold above 1000 prisoners, abandoned the rest of the plunder to the troops, and marched back to Luceria.

CHAP. DURING these successes in Lucania and Hir-  
 XXXVIII. pinum, the five frigates, which carried to Rome the Carthaginian and Macedonian ambassadors, that had been taken prisoners, coasted almost all Italy from the Adriatic gulph to the Tuscan sea. As they were sailing by Cumæ, Gracchus, who did not know whether they belonged to friends or enemies, detached some vessels to meet them. The questions that passed betwixt them discovering who they were, and that the consul was at Cumæ, the frigates landed there, and carried their prisoners and letters to the consul. After having read those of Philip and Hannibal, he sealed them again, and sent them all by land to the senate. The prisoners he ordered to be carried by sea. The letters and ambassadors arrived at Rome almost at the same time. When upon examination the prisoners answers agreed with the contents of the letters, the fathers were extremely perplexed to find, that when they were scarce able to


<sup>a</sup> *Agrometo*, above *Turfi*, in the *Basilicate*.




make head against Hannibal, they were upon the point of having a formidable war with Philip. Yet they were so far from sinking under their calamities, that they began immediately to deliberate, how to keep that enemy out of Italy by carrying the war into his own country. They ordered the ambassadors to be imprisoned, and their retinue to be sold by auction. Then they voted a reinforcement of twenty gallies to be fitted out to join the twenty five under their admiral P. Val. Flaccus. These being equipped and manned, and joined by the five frigates that had brought the prisoners, a fleet of fifty sail sailed from Ostia to Tarentum. Valerius had orders to embark the troops, which had formerly served under Varro, but were now commanded by the lieutenant general L. Apustius in Tarentum, and with this fleet of fifty men of war, not only to defend the coasts of Italy, but also to make enquiry concerning the Macedonian war. If he found Philip's motions correspond with the letters and informations of the prisoners, he should immediately write to the prætor M. Valerius, that he, leaving the command of the troops to Apustius, should repair to the fleet at Tarentum, and sail to Macedon directly, using his utmost efforts to keep Philip in his own kingdom. The money that had been sent to Ap. Claudius in Sicily, to pay off a loan of king Hiero's, was appointed for the subsistence of the fleet, and for supporting the Macedonian war. The lieutenant-general L. Apustius sent it to Tarentum. At the same time Hiero sent them 200000 bushels of wheat, and 100000 of barley.

DURING these preparations and transactions at home, Philip's ship, which had been taken and sent to Rome, made her escape. By this means he was informed of his ambassadors being seized with their letters. But being quite ignorant of the treaty which Hannibal had made with his ambassadors, and of the answer they were bringing back, he sent a second embassy with the same instructions. The ambassadors sent to the Carthaginian were Heraclitus, sur-



CHAP. XXXIX.  named Scotinus, Crito Berræus and Sositheus Magnes. They executed their commission with safety. But the summer was passed before the king could move or undertake any thing; of such consequence was the taking of one ship with the ambassadors, in deferring a war, with which the Romans were immediately threatned. Fabius, having made expiation for the prodigies, at length passed the Volturnus, and both consuls acted in conjunction about Capua. Fabius took by storm Combulteria<sup>a</sup>, Trebula and Saticula, which had revolted to the Carthaginians. In them many of Hannibal's garisons, and of the Campanians, were taken prisoners. Affairs of Nola were in the same situation as the year before: It's senators were in the Roman interest, and it's commonality in that of Hannibal. The latter were secretly plotting to massacre the principal men, and betray the city. To frustrate their design, Fabius marched between Capua and the Carthaginian camp which was on mount Tifata, to the camp of the proconsul Marcellus, above Vesuvius, and detached him, with the troops under his command, to garison Nola.

CHAP. XL.  THE operations of the campaign in Sardinia, which, by the prætor Mucius being seized with a violent illness, had been laid aside, were now also prosecuted by the prætor T. Manlius. Having laid up his fleet in the port of Carales<sup>a</sup>, armed the sailors, that he might act by land, and received the prætor's troops, he formed an army of 22000 foot and 1200 horse. With these he marched into the enemy's country, and encamped near Hampfichoras's entrenchments, who was by chance then gone to arm the Pellitan<sup>b</sup> youth to reinforce his army. His son Hioftus commanded the camp. He was an impetuous youth, and having rashly engaged the Romans, was routed and put to flight. About 3000 Sardinians were killed, and 300 taken prisoners in that battle. The rest of the army, at first, dispersed in their flight

<sup>a</sup> In the west of *Campania*, near  
*Santa Maria de Combultera*.  
<sup>c</sup> *Cagliari*.

<sup>b</sup> A people of that island, so called  
from wearing coats made of skins.



through the fields and forests; but hearing whither their general had fled, they retreated to the city of Cornus<sup>c</sup>, the capital of that country. That battle had terminated the war in Sardinia, if the Punic fleet commanded by Asdrubal, which had been driven by a storm to the Balearean islands, had not arrived in time to revive the spirit of rebellion. Upon advice that it was arrived, Manlius retired to Carales. Hampsichoras took that opportunity to join the Carthaginian. Asdrubal, having landed his troops, sent back his fleet to Carthage. Then going, with Hampsichoras to conduct him, to pillage the lands belonging to those who were friends to the Romans, he had advanced as far as Carales, if Manlius had not met with his army, and restrained him from spreading his ravages so far. At first they encamped very near each other, and then made excursions, and fought several skirmishes with alternate success. At last they came to a general battle, which lasted four hours. The Sardinians, being accustomed to be defeated, made no great resistance; but the Carthaginians disputed the victory long. At length, seeing the Sardinians slaughtered and flying on all quarters, they gave way. That wing of the Romans, which had driven the Sardinians out of the field, wheeled and surrounded them as they turned their backs. It was then a carnage rather than a battle. 12000 of the enemy were slain, near 3600 Sardinians and Carthaginians made prisoners, and 27 ensigns taken.

THE taking the general Asdrubal, Hanno and Mago, men of the first quality in Carthage, prisoners, rendered this battle more glorious and memorable. Mago was of the Barcinian family, and a near relation of Hannibal. Hanno was the author of the revolt of the Sardinians, and without doubt he had stirred up the war. The fall of the Sardinian generals likewise enhanced the glory of this victory. Hioftus, son of Hampsichoras, was killed in the battle. Hampsichoras, who had fled with a few horse,

<sup>c</sup> Corneto.



CHAP.

XLI.



no sooner heard of his son's death, which added greatly to his misfortunes, than he killed himself in the night, to prevent his design's being frustrated. Cornus served as a retreat for the rest, as it had done before. Manlius invested it with his victorious troops, and took it in a few days. Then the cities, which had revolted to Hampsichoras and the Carthaginians, sent hostages and surrendered to the conqueror. After having exacted money and corn from each of them according to their ability, or their crime, he retired with his troops to Carales. There he lunched his vessels, embarked the troops he had brought with him, and set sail for Rome. Having informed the senate of the reduction of Sardinia, he delivered the money he had levied to the quæstors, the corn to the ædiles, and the prisoners to the prætor Fulvius. At the same time the prætor Otacilius, having sail'd from Lilybæum into Africa with a fleet of 50 sail, ravaged the Carthaginian territories. As he was from thence steering his course for Sardinia, whither it was reported Asdrubal had gone from the Baleares, he fell in with his fleet returning to Africa, and after a slight engagement in the open sea, took seven ships with their crews. Fear, like a storm, dispersed the rest. About the same time Bomilcar arrived, from Carthage, at Locris, with a recruit of soldiers, forty elephants and provisions. In order to surprize him, Ap. Claudius, under pretext of visiting the province, marched with expedition to Messina, and with the next tide sailed over to Locri. But Bomilcar had already set out to join Hannibal in the country of the Bruttii. Thus, after much trouble, Claudius returned to Messina, having missed his aim. During the same campaign Marcellus made many incursions, from Nola, which he garisoned, upon the lands of the Hirpini and the Samnites of Caudium. He put all to fire and sword in such a manner, that it revived in the Samnites the memory of their former losses.

CHAP.

XLII.




FOR this reason both nations, at once, sent embassadors immediately to Hannibal. They addressed him

him



him thus. ‘ Formerly, Hannibal, we, by ourselves, CHAP.  
‘ were enemies to the Romans as long as we had XLII.  
‘ arms or strength to defend us. But when we could  
‘ no longer trust to them, we had recourse to king  
‘ Pyrrhus. When he abandoned us, we were obliged  
‘ to accept terms of peace, which we observed al-  
‘ most fifty years, till such time as you arrived in I-  
‘ taly. Your valor and fortune did not more conci-  
‘ liate us to you, than your unparalleled kindness  
‘ and generosity towards our countrymen, whom you  
‘ sent back to us, after you had taken them prison-  
‘ ers. So that we believed, as long as you was safe,  
‘ and our friend, we had nothing to fear, not only  
‘ from the Romans, but (were it lawful so to speak)  
‘ from the incensed Gods themselves. But, O Gods,  
‘ while you are not only safe and victorious, but so  
‘ near to us, that you can hear almost the lamenta-  
‘ ble cries of our wives and children, and see the  
‘ burning of our houses, our country this summer  
‘ has been ravaged in such a manner, that it seemed  
‘ Marcellus, not Hannibal, gained the battle of Can-  
‘ næ. Nay, the Romans boast, that you are good  
‘ at the first push, but when that is over grow faint  
‘ and languid. We sustained a war against the Ro-  
‘ mans near a hundred years, without the aid of fo-  
‘ reign generals or troops, except that, during the  
‘ space of two years, Pyrrhus reinforced his army  
‘ with our troops, rather than defended us with his  
‘ own. But we will not boast of our conquests ;  
‘ how we made two consuls, and two consular ar-  
‘ mies, pass under the yoke, and of many other vic-  
‘ tories, which furnished us subject of joy and tri-  
‘ umph. As to the defeats and misfortunes we met  
‘ with at that time, we can repeat them with far less  
‘ indignation, than we can our present calamities.  
‘ Then invincible dictators with their generals of  
‘ horse, two consuls with two consular armies, after  
‘ having searched the country, and posted guards in  
‘ proper places, entered our territories, and advanced  
‘ to ravage them. Now we are the prey of one ar-



CHAP. XLII.  my, nay, of a petty garison, scarce sufficient to defend Nola. Now they over-run our whole country, not in large bodies, but like robbers, and in as much security as if they were straggling in the fields about Rome. This is entirely owing to your not defending us, and to our youth serving in your army, who, if they were at home, could protect us. We know no more of you, and your army, except that you have routed and cut off so many Romans in battle. And ought we not to expect, that such conquerors might easily suppress these ravagers of our country, dispersed and straggling up and down without colors, in hopes of booty, they can never get? They will be an easy prey to a few Numidians. Send us a garison, and it will soon dislodge that at Nola, provided you don't think us unworthy of your protection, whom you have not thought unworthy of your alliance.'

CHAP. XLIII. TO this speech Hannibal replied, ' You, Hirpini and Samnites, have huddled every thing together in your speech. You have pointed out your misfortunes, demanded a garison, and complained of being neglected, and not being protected. Whereas, you should first have laid your grievances before me, then demanded a garison, and, if that had been refused, at last have complained of having implored our help in vain. I will bring my army, not into your country, for fear of being a burden to it, but into that of the Roman allies lying next to it. By ravaging them, I will not only enrich my troops with plunder, but make the enemy, through fear, remove to a great distance from you. As to the war with the Romans, as the battle of Thrasymen was more glorious than that of Trebia, and that of Cannæ than that of Thrasymen, so I will make the victory of Cannæ be eclipsed and forgot, by one more bloody and memorable'. With this answer, and large presents he dismissed the embassadors. Then leaving a small garison in his camp at Tifata, he advanced with the rest



rest of his army to Nola. Thither also came Hanno, CHAP.  
from Bruttium, with the recruits and elephants he had XLIII.  
brought from Carthage. Having encamped near

the city, the Carthaginian, upon strict scrutiny into every thing, found that the ambassadors had represented matters quite otherwise than they really were. For Marcellus acted so cautiously, that it could not be said, he risked any thing imprudently, or rashly exposed himself to the attacks of the enemy. He never went a ravaging, till he had first searched the country, and posted supports in proper places, to cover his retreat. Nay, he acted in all respects with the same precaution, as if he had been to engage Hannibal in person. As soon as he received advice of the enemy's approach, he kept close within the walls, ordering the Nolan senators to patrol on them, in order to observe the enemy's motions. Hanno, having come up to the place, and descried Herennius Bassus, and Herius Petrius among them, invited them to a conference, to which they went with Marcellus's permission. He spoke to them by an interpreter. After he had extolled the valor and success of Hannibal, he vilified the majesty of the Roman people, which was sunk together with their strength. ' Supposing, said he, that our strength was equal, as  
' it was formerly, yet since they had found by experience how intolerable the Roman government was,  
' and how indulgent Hannibal was, even to the prisoners belonging to the people of Italy in general,  
' they would certainly prefer an alliance with the latter to one with the former. If both consuls were  
' at Nola with their armies, yet they would no more  
' be a match for Hannibal, than they had been at Cannæ; much less would a single prætor with a  
' handful of raw troops be able to defend Nola. It  
' was their interest rather than Hannibal's to consider whether he should become master of Nola by  
' force or surrendry; for he would certainly gain it,  
' either as he had done Capua or Nuceria. They,  
' who were situated between both, must be sensible  
' of



‘ of their different fates. He would not presage the  
 ‘ same misfortunes to light on Nola as usually befall  
 ‘ cities taken by storm. But he would engage, that  
 ‘ in case they should deliver up Marcellus, his gari-  
 ‘ son and the town, they themselves, and none o-  
 ‘ ther, should draw up the articles, on which they  
 ‘ would make an alliance with Hannibal.’

CHAP.

XLIV.



TO this Herennius Bassus replied, ‘ that their  
 ‘ alliance with the Romans had subsisted for many  
 ‘ years without either of them repenting. It was  
 ‘ now too late to change, suppose their fidelity was  
 ‘ to alter with fortune. If they had inclined to sur-  
 ‘ render to Hannibal, they would not have called in  
 ‘ a Roman garison. But now they would share for-  
 ‘ tunes with, and stand to the last firmly attached to  
 ‘ those who had come to protect them.’ This con-  
 ference made Hannibal despair of having Nola sur-  
 rendered to him. Therefore he invested it quite  
 round, that he might attack it on all quarters at once.  
 When Marcellus saw him approach the walls, he  
 made a vigorous sally with his troops, which he had  
 purposely drawn up in order within the gate. At  
 the first charge the Carthaginians were put into dis-  
 order, and some of them killed. But their troops  
 that were engaged being instantly supported, there  
 begun a furious battle. Few actions had been more  
 memorable, if a violent storm, with heavy rains,  
 had not separated the combatants. The skirmish on  
 this day served only to irritate their minds, when  
 they both retired, the Romans into the town, and  
 the Carthaginians to their camp. In this first sally,  
 about thirty Carthaginians were killed, but not one  
 Roman. The rain continued all that night, and till  
 nine o’clock the following day. By this means,  
 though both sides ardently desired to come to blows,  
 they kept within their posts for that day. On the  
 third the Carthaginian detached a party to ravage the  
 Nolan lands. As soon as Marcellus perceived this,  
 he marched out with his army in battalia. Hannibal  
 did not decline fighting. It was about a mile be-

tween



tween the town and his camp. In this space, which was part of a plain that quite surrounded the city, they engaged. Both sides raised a shout, which made the nearest of the detachment, that had been sent to forage, rejoin their army after the battle was begun. The inhabitants of Nola would have joined the Romans; but Marcellus, after applauding their zeal, ordered them to be posted as a body of reserve, and to carry the wounded out of the battle, without engaging, unless he gave them a signal.

VICTORY was long disputed. Each general animated his men with warm speeches, and the soldiers fought with the utmost vigor. Marcellus ordered his troops to press hard on men whom they had defeated three days before; that had been lately driven from before Cumæ, and whom he himself had defeated before Nola the preceding year, though with another army. ‘ They are not, said he, all in the battle, but many dispersed ravaging the country. Those who fight are enervated by the pleasures of Capua, by wine, whores, and all manner of debaucheries, in which they had been plunged during the whole winter. They had lost that strength, that vigor, those stout bodies, and intrepid hearts, which had enabled them to surmount all the difficulties of passing the Pyrenees and Alps. They were only the remains of these men, and were so feeble that they could scarce sustain the weight of their bodies and arms. Capua had been to the Carthaginians, what Cannæ was to the Romans. Here they had lost all their valor in war, their military discipline, the reputation they had acquired formerly, and all hopes they had conceived of gaining more.’ While Marcellus, to animate his men, depreciated the enemy, Hannibal reproached them in a heavier manner. ‘ I know, said he, those to be the same arms, the same colors, that I saw and had at Trebia, Thrasymen, and at last at Cannæ. Yet sure I have brought out of Capua with me, an army very different from that I put  
‘ into

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‘ into winter quarters there. How! are you, before  
 ‘ whom two consular armies could not stand, scarce  
 ‘ able to sustain the charge of a single and small body  
 ‘ commanded by a Roman lieutenant general? Shall  
 ‘ Marcellus, with new levy’d troops, with the garison  
 ‘ of Nola, attack us a second time with impunity!  
 ‘ What is become of that brave soldier who cut  
 ‘ off the consul Flaminius’s head, after having dis-  
 ‘ mounted him? Where is he, who killed L. Paullus  
 ‘ at Cannæ? Are your swords now blunted? Are  
 ‘ your right hands benumbed? Or what else, in the  
 ‘ name of wonder, has befallen you? You used to  
 ‘ defeat armies more numerous than yourselves; now,  
 ‘ when you excede in numbers, you can scarce with-  
 ‘ stand a handful. Valiant only with your tongues,  
 ‘ you made your bravadoes, that you would take  
 ‘ Rome, if any general would lead you to it. Your  
 ‘ present enterprize is less difficult. I would have you  
 ‘ give proof of your courage and strength, by taking  
 ‘ Nola, a town situated in a plain, and defended  
 ‘ neither by a river or the sea. When you are loaded  
 ‘ with the plunder and spoils of this wealthy city,  
 ‘ I will either lead or follow you whithersoever you  
 ‘ please.’

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NEITHER his exhortations nor reproaches  
 could inspire them with courage. They were pushed  
 on all sides, while not only the courage of the Ro-  
 mans was increased by the exhortations of their gene-  
 ral, but even their ardor, by the Nolans who shouted  
 in token of their good wishes. The Carthaginians  
 fled, and were pursued to their camp. But when the  
 Romans expressed an ardent desire to attack it, Mar-  
 cellus marched them back to Nola, where the popu-  
 lace, who before had more inclined to the Carthagi-  
 nians, received them with great rejoicings and gra-  
 tulations. That day upwards of 5000 of the enemy  
 were killed, 600 prisoners, nineteen colors and two  
 elephants taken. Four elephants were slain in the  
 field. The Romans did not lose 1000 men. By a  
 tacit truce, both sides employed the next day in bury-  
 ing



ing their dead ; Marcellus burnt the spoils, which he had vowed to Vulcan. On the third day, 1272 Spanish and Numidian horse, disgusted, I imagine, at some ill treatment, or in hopes of something more to their advantage, deserted to the Romans, and in the course of that war gave many signal proofs of their bravery and fidelity. When the war was terminated, each had lands given them in their own country, as a reward of their bravery and service. Hannibal, after sending back Hanno to Bruttium with the troops he had brought thence, went himself to winter in Apulia, and encamped near Arpi. As soon as Fabius received advice that the Carthaginian was set out for Apulia, he conveyed all the provisions from Nola and Naples into that camp which was above Sueffula. Having fortified it, and left a garison sufficient to defend the country during the winter, he approached Capua, and having put the country to fire and sword, obliged the Capuans, who had little confidence in their own strength, to march out and encamp in the open fields before their gates. They had 6000 bad infantry. As their cavalry was better, they used it to harass the enemy. Among the many troopers distinguished for their bravery, was one Cerrinus Jubellius, surnamed Taurea. He was a citizen of Capua, and by far the bravest among the Campanians ; so that, when he served in the Roman army, no horseman could be compared to him except the Roman Claudius Asellus. Taurea rode up to the Roman squadrons and looked long for Asellus ; at last, when all were silent, he asked aloud, where he was ? ‘ Since he used to dispute with me in words about bravery, why does he not decide it by the sword, and either give me an opportunity of defeating him and carrying off his spoils, or have the glory of doing so by me.’

ASELLUS, who was in the camp, having been informed of this, delay'd answering, only till he should ask the consul's permission to fight an enemy that challenged him. Having obtained it, he armed immediately,

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XLVII.



CHAP. immediately, and advancing before the guards, call'd  
 XLVII. Taurea by name, and desired him to fight him where  
 he pleased. The Romans by this time had quitted  
 their camp in crowds to see this combat, and the  
 Campanians filled not only the rampart of their camp,  
 but the walls of their town with spectators. When  
 the combatants had made a flourish by exchanging  
 some words of defiance, they put spurs to their horses  
 with their lances rested. But as they had free space  
 to play in, they fought long without drawing blood.  
 Then the Campanian said to his antagonist, ' This  
 ' will be a combat of horses, not of cavaliers, if we  
 ' do not leave the plain to go down into that hollow  
 ' way. There, as we shall not have room to rove  
 ' at large, we shall come to close fight.' He had  
 scarce ended his speech, when Claudius rode into the  
 way. But Taurea, braver in words than actions,  
 cry'd, ' See the ass in the ditch.' This afterwards  
 became a common proverb. Claudius, after having  
 rode several turns in the road without meeting his an-  
 tagonist, came up into the plain, reproaching his  
 enemy with cowardice. He was carried back as  
 victor to the camp with great joy and acclamations.  
 Some annals, in the relation of this combat, add a most  
 surprizing circumstance, which is generally believed,  
 that Claudius, in pursuing Taurea as he fled into the  
 city, went in at one gate which stood open, and came  
 safe out at the other, while the enemy were still in a-  
 maze at Taurea's behavior.

CHAP. THEN both remained quiet in their camp. Nay  
 XLVIII. the Consul removed to a greater distance, to give the  
 Campanians leave to sow their lands, and he com-  
 mitted no ravage, till the corn was sufficiently grown  
 for forage. Then he caused it to be carried to his  
 camp at Sueffula, where he laid it up against the  
 winter. He ordered the pro-consul Marcellus to keep  
 as many troops as were necessary to garison Nola,  
 and send the rest to Rome, that they might not be a  
 burthen to their allies nor an expence to the repub-  
 lic. T. Gracchus, as he was marching from Cumæ



to Luceria in Apulia, detached the prætor Valerius with the army he had at Luceria, to Brundisium, with orders to defend the coast of Salentum, watch the motions of Philip and guard against his attempts. In the close of the campaign, which produced the actions I have just given an account of, letters arrived from P. and Cn. Scipio, with advice of their great and many victories. But they wanted pay, clothing, and provisions for the soldiers and sailors. If there was no money in the treasury, they would take some method to procure it in Spain ; but it was absolutely necessary to send the rest from Rome, otherwise it would not be possible to preserve either the army or province. When the letters were read, every body owned the reality of the wants and the reasonableness of the demands ; but they considered the numerous forces they had already to maintain both by sea and land, and the new fleet they would presently be obliged to equip, in case of a Macedonian war.

CHAP.  
XLVIII.

‘ Sicily and Sardinia, which brought Rome, before the war, considerable subsidies, were now scarce able to subsist the armies that defended them. Their taxes at home had formerly supplied their expences. But the number of those who paid these taxes was now greatly diminished by the loss of so great armies, at Thrasymen and at Cannæ. To load the few that survived with the supply demanded would be ruining them, though in a manner different from what the rest were. Therefore if the republic could not subsist by her credit, she could not by the sums in her treasury. The prætor therefore should assemble the people, lay before them the pressing wants of the state, and earnestly exhort all those who were grown rich by farming the public revenues, to lend the public for the present a part of what they had gained in her service ; and enter into a contract to furnish what was wanting for the army in Spain, upon the condition of being reimbursed the first when there was money in the treasury.”

The prætor laid all these articles before the assembly, and



and fixed a day for contracting with any who would furnish the army in Spain with clothes and provisions, and other necessaries for the fleet.

## CHAP.

XLIX.

W H E N the day came, three companies of nineteen persons each presented themselves as undertakers; but demanded two conditions, first, that they should be exempted from serving in the war, while employ'd in the public service: secondly, that if the cargoes they ship'd should be cast away by storm, or taken by the enemy, the public should charge itself with the loss. Both being granted, they signed the contract, and the purses of private persons supplied the exigencies of the public. Such were the manners of these times, and the same love of their country animated all orders of the state equally. As the contractors had with courage undertaken to supply every thing, so they executed it with the greatest fidelity, and the troops were subsisted as if it had been out of a full treasury, as in former times. When these provisions arrived, Asdrubal, Mago and Hamilcar, son of Bomilcar, were besieging the town of Illiturgis, which had declared for the Romans. The two Scipios forced a way by vigorous efforts and great slaughter of the enemy, through these three camps. They supplied the city with what it wanted, and exhorting the townsmen to defend their walls with the same resolution, that they had seen the Romans fight for them, they went to attack the largest of the camps, which was commanded by Asdrubal. The other two Carthaginian generals, seeing the greatest efforts made there, repaired thither with their armies. Accordingly they quitted their lines and engaged. 60000 enemies and about 16000 Romans fought that day. However the victory was so little doubtful, that the Romans killed more of the enemy than exceeded their own number. They took above 3000 prisoners, near 1000 horses and 59 ensigns. Five elephants were slain in the field of battle. The conquerors made themselves masters of the three camps. The siege of Illiturgis being raised, the Carthaginian army marched to besiege Intibili<sup>a</sup>,



Intibili<sup>a</sup>, after having recruited their army with the people of the province, who were fond of war, provided there was any booty or gain to be had, and at that time abounded with young men. Here they fought a second battle with the same success on both sides. Above 13000 of the enemy were killed, and 3000 prisoners, with 42 ensigns and 9 elephants taken. Then almost all the states of Spain declared for the Romans, and much more important actions happened there that year than in Italy.

\* Near Teruel in Arragon.

## BOOK XXIV.

*Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, whose grandfather, Hiero, had been a faithful ally to the Romans, revolts to the Carthaginians. Killed by his subjects for his cruelty and tyranny. The pro-consul, Ti. Semp. Gracchus defeats the Carthaginians commanded by Hanno at Beneventum. This victory chiefly owing to the slaves, whom he ordered to be set free for their good service. The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse in Sicily, which had almost wholly revolted to the Carthaginians. War declared against Philip, king of Macedon, who being surprised and routed in the night at Apollonia escapes into his kingdom with troops almost without any arms. The prætor Valerius sent to prosecute this war. This book likewise contains an account of the successes of P. and Cn. Scipio against the Carthaginians in Spain. Syphax, king of Numidia, having formed an alliance with the Romans, and been defeated by Masinissa, king of the Massilians, who sided with the Carthaginians, passes with a great army into Mauritania, opposite to Gades, over the streight which divides Spain and Afric. An alliance formed with the Celtiberians, and auxiliaries sent for from them, which is the first time the Romans employ'd foreign mercenaries.*

AS soon as Hanno returned from Capua into Bruttium, with the assistance and advice of the natives, he attempted to bring over the Grecians, who continued more firm in their alliance with the Romans, because they saw the Bruttians, whom they both feared and hated, had sided with the Carthaginians. His first attempt was upon Rhegium, where he spent several days to no purpose. During this interval, the



**CHAP. I.** Locrians carried in haste corn, wood and other necessities from their farms into their city, that they might not leave any booty for the enemy. Greater numbers went daily out of the town for this purpose, so that at last none were left in it, but those who were compelled to stay in order to repair the walls and gates, and carry arms to their fortifications. Hamilcar detached his cavalry against this rabble of all ages and ranks, as they were dispersed over the fields, and the greatest part of them without arms. He ordered them not to do them any injury, only to post their squadrons so as to cut off their retreat to the town. He himself seized an eminence from whence he had a view both of the country and city. Then he ordered a cohort of Bruttians to go up to the walls, and invite the principal men of Locris to a conference; and, by promising them the friendship of Hannibal, persuade them to surrender. At first they would not hearken to any of the propositions made by the Bruttians. But when they saw the Carthaginian on the hills, and were informed by a few of the multitude that had escaped, that all the rest were in the power of the enemy; overwhelmed with fear, they answered, ‘that they must consult their people.’ Immediately they were assembled. The most giddy of them were desirous of a revolution and a new alliance, and those, whose relations were surrounded by the enemy, were as fast bound as if they had given hostages: The few, who inwardly approved of adhering to their alliance, durst not openly defend it. So that in appearance, they unanimously agreed to surrender to the Carthaginian. L. Atilius, commander of the garison, with the Roman soldiers that he had with him, were secretly carried to the harbor, and put on board of vessels to carry them to Rhegium. Then they received Hamilcar and the Carthaginians into the town, upon condition that a treaty should immediately be concluded on equal terms. But when they had surrendered this article was not observed at all, while Hamilcar accused the Locrians of having fraudulently





fraudulently dismissed the Romans, and they insisted in their excuse that they had made their escape. Some horse were likewise detached along the shore, to see if the tide had either stopt them in the streight, or driven them to land. But they could not come up with them. Besides they descried other vessels standing over from Messina to Rhegium. They had been sent by the prætor Claudius with Roman troops to garison the latter. Thus they immediately returned. Hannibal ordered to grant the Locrians peace on the following terms: ‘ that they should live free and enjoy their own laws. The Carthaginians should have free access to the city, and the Locrians should keep possession of the haven. The treaty should be valid on this condition, that the Carthaginians and Locrians should mutually assist each other in peace and war.’



THUS the Carthaginians retired from the streight, while the Bruttians murmured that they had left, untouched, Rhegium and Locris, two cities they had determined to rife. For this reason, they gathered together 15000 of their own youth, and marched to attack Croton. It was a Grecian city, situated on the sea coast. The Bruttians thought, that if they could get possession of a city with a good port and strong fortifications, it would be a considerable accession to their power. However they were greatly perplexed by the following circumstances. They durst not but ask the Carthaginians to assist them, lest they should seem to have acted contrary to the interest of their allies. On the other hand, they were afraid their fighting would be to no purpose, in case the Carthaginian should a second time prove an arbiter, rather than an assistant in the war, as he had done with regard to Locris. Therefore they thought it most prudent to send deputies to Hannibal, to procure security from him, that in case they recovered Croton, it should remain subject to them. The Carthaginian reply’d, that they must consult some persons on the spot concerning their demand, and so refer’d them to



CHAP. HANNO, from whom they received no positive answer.  
 II. For they were not willing that so noble and wealthy a city should be plundered. Besides, if the Bruttians took it, while the Carthaginians seemed neither to approve, or to assist them in the enterprize, they hoped the inhabitants would the sooner revolt to them. The Crotonians were in separate interests, and not all of the same mind. All the cities in Italy were affected in the same manner, their senators and populace differed in their inclinations. The former favored the Romans, the latter inclined to the Carthaginians. A deserter informed the Bruttians of this dissention; and that Aristomachus headed the popular faction, and declared for surrendering the town; and that the senators and people kept each separate guards in different quarters of this large and extended city whose walls were every where gone to ruin. It was easy to enter it, where the people kept guard. By the advice and direction of this deserter the Bruttians invested the place, and being admitted by the people, at the first assault made themselves masters of all the posts in it, except the citadel. The nobility held out, having beforehand secured a retreat thither in case of such an accident. Aristomachus fled thither also, under pretext that he only advised surrendering to the Carthaginians, not to the Bruttians.

CHAP. BEFORE Pyrrhus invaded Italy, the walls of  
 III. Croton were twelve miles in circumference, but after it was plundered in the war with that prince, scarce one half of the ground within that wall was inhabited. A river which then run through the middle of it, ran now without the houses that were inhabited, from which the citadel was likewise at a great distance. Six miles from the city stood a celebrated temple of Juno Lacinia, more famous than the city itself, and for which all the neighboring people had a great veneration. Here was a grove encompassed with a thick wood and tall fir-trees. In the middle were delicious pastures, where all kinds of cattle sacred to the Goddesses fed without a keeper. They went out



to pasture in herds each kind by itself, and returned to their pens at night, for they were never injured by wild beasts or thieves. By this means great advantages were made of these flocks. There was also in the place a pillar of massy gold, consecrated to the Deity, and the temple was famous, not only for it's riches, but it's sanctity. As is common to places of such note, many miracles are attributed to it. For there is a tradition, that there is in the porch of the temple an altar, whose ashes could never be blown away by any wind. One side of the citadel of Croton is defended by the sea, the other towards the land had no fortification but a strong natural situation, yet was afterwards surrounded by a wall, where Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, took it by stratagem from the rocks that lay at the back of it. However at this time it seemed to be pretty well fortify'd, and defended by the principal men of Croton, who were invested by their own people in conjunction with the Bruttians. At last the Bruttians, seeing it impregnable by their force, were obliged to implore aid from Hanno. He endeavored to make the Crotonians surrender on terms, viz. that a colony of Bruttians should settle there, that their city, which was become a vast desert and solitude by the wars, might be rendered as populous as it was in ancient times. But he could prevail on none of them but Aristomachus. For they all solemnly protested they would die sooner, than, by mixing with the Bruttians, exchange their customs, manners, laws, and even their language, for foreign ones. Aristomachus, seeing he could not by all his arguments prevail on them to agree to this, and that he could not find an opportunity to betray the citadel as he had done the town, deserted to Hanno. Soon after deputies from the Locrians entered the citadel with Hanno's permission, and persuaded the besieged to suffer themselves to be conducted to Locris, rather than hold out to the last extremity. They had already sent ambassadors to Hannibal and obtained this liberty for them. Thus they left Cro-



ton, and embarking at the shore, went all to Locris. The Romans and Hannibal, who were in Apulia, were not quiet even during the winter. The consul Sempronius was quartered at Luceria, and Hannibal not far off at Arpi. According as either side found opportunity, several skirmishes happened between them, by which the Romans became better soldiers, and daily more prudent and cautious in avoiding the ambuscades of the enemy.

CHAP.  
IV.

THE death of king Hiero, and the succession of his grandson Hieronymus to his throne, entirely altered the face of affairs in Sicily with regard to the Romans. The prince, who was a boy, was scarce capable of bearing the weight of his own liberty, much less of sustaining that of sovereign power as he ought. His guardians and favorites gladly cherished this disposition, in order to plunge him into all manner of vice. Hiero, foreseeing the consequence of this, is said, towards the end of his life, to have intended to restore the Syracusans their former liberty, to prevent a kingdom, which he had acquired and established by the most honest and wise policy, to be ruined by becoming the sport of a young king. But his daughters opposed this wise design with all their might. They saw that the young prince would only have the name of king, while they, and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who were left his principal guardians, would have all the authority. It was not easy for an old man near ninety, who was night and day beset with two women, using the most insinuating caresses, to preserve his freedom of mind, and to sacrifice the interest of his family, to establish the safety of his subjects. Therefore he appointed the young prince fifteen guardians. On his death-bed he conjured them to adhere to that alliance with the Romans, which he had inviolably observed during fifty years; especially to teach the prince to tread in his steps, and to cultivate in him the same principles, in which



he had been educated. No sooner had the good king  
breathed his last, than the guardians assembled the  
people, read the will, and presented the young king  
to them, who was then about fifteen years old. A  
few persons, who had been placed there on purpose  
to set up a shout, applauded the will. The rest,  
like children bereaved of their father, apprehended  
all the dismal consequences that happened to their or-  
phan state. The king's funeral was more honored  
by the loving and affectionate tears of his subjects,  
than by the care of his relations. Then Andranodo-  
rus removed the rest of the guardians, by declaring  
the king was of age, and could govern for himself.  
Thus by divesting himself of a guardianship, which  
he held in common with many colleagues, he usurped  
the power of them all to himself.

CHAP.  
IV.

A GOOD and moderate prince, succeeding to  
Hiero, who was so much beloved by the Syracusans,  
would have found it difficult to have gained their  
affection. But, as if Hieronymus had sought by his  
vices to make the loss of his grandfather more re-  
gretted, he at his first public appearance shewed how  
little he resembled him. Neither Hiero, nor his son  
Gelo, during the many years of their life, had ever  
been seen distinguished from the rest of the citizens,  
by their dress, or any other ornament. But now the  
young prince was beheld dressed in purple, a diadem  
on his head, and attended by armed guards. Some-  
times also, in imitation of Dionysius the tyrant, he  
went abroad in a chariot drawn by white horses.  
All things else about him answered exactly this splen-  
did dress and equipage; contempt for every body,  
haughty in giving audience, disdainful in conversa-  
tion, difficult of access, not only to strangers, but  
even to his guardians; refined in contriving new  
kinds of debaucheries, and inhumanly cruel. For this  
reason every body was so terrified by him, that some  
of his guardians, to avoid his barbarous punishments,  
either killed themselves, or went into a voluntary ba-  
nishment. Only three persons, Andranodorus and

CHAP.  
V.



CHAP. <sup>v.</sup> Zoippus, Hiero's sons in law, and Thrafo, had free access at court. Though he hearkened little to them in other affairs, yet the warm disputes among them, occasioned by the two former endeavoring to incline him to the interest of the Carthaginians, and the latter to that of the Romans, sometimes attracted his attention. About this time a conspiracy against the king's life was discovered by a servant who was of the same age with Hieronymus, and from his infancy had been privy to all his secrets. He could impeach none of the conspirators except Theodotus, who had solicited him to be an accomplice. The criminal was immediately apprehended, and delivered up to Andranodorus to be put to the rack. He did not hesitate to confess himself guilty, but concealed his accomplices. At last, having suffered the most exquisite tortures human nature could bear, he pretended to give way to them, and accused innocent persons instead of the guilty. He falsely averred that Thrafo was chief of the conspiracy, and that they never would have embarked in so daring an attempt, if they had not had a man of so great credit at their head. He likewise impeached such near the king's person, whose lives might best be spared, and whose names occurred to him during his pain and groans. The naming of Thrafo made the discovery seem probable to the tyrant. He was immediately executed, with his pretended accomplices, who were as innocent as he. None of the conspirators absconded or fled, whilst their accomplice suffered the most cruel tortures; so much did they rely on his fidelity and constancy, and such fortitude of mind had he to keep their secret.

CHAP. <sup>vi.</sup> THE death of Thrafo, who was the sole tie of the alliance with the Romans, removed all obstacles to the Syracusans revolt. Embassadors were sent to Hannibal, who, in his turn, sent a young Carthaginian of quality, named Hannibal, with whom he joined Hippocrates and Epicydes, born at Carthage, of a Carthaginian mother, but a Syracusan father, who



who had been banished his country. They concluded an alliance between the king of Syracuse and the Carthaginian, by whose permission they stay'd with the king. As soon as the prætor of Sicily, Ap. Claudius, received advice of this treaty, he sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance that had formerly subsisted between the Romans and his grandfather. The king received them with a ridiculous haughtiness, and dismissed them with a sneering question, 'What fortune had you in the battle near Cannæ? The Carthaginian ambassadors give incredible accounts of it. I would fain know the truth, that I may be enabled to determine which side I shall join.' The Romans reply'd, 'that they would come to him, when he was disposed to give them a serious hearing:' and withdrew, after having advised rather than requested him not rashly to change his alliance. Hieronymus sent ambassadors to Carthage to ratify the treaty he had made with Hannibal. Here it was agreed, 'that after they should have driven the Romans out of Sicily, which they fondly imagined would soon be done, provided they sent an army and fleet thither, the river Himera<sup>a</sup>, which divided almost the island in the middle, should be the common boundary of the Carthaginian on one side, and Syracusan dominions on the other.' But, puffed up with the flatteries of those about him, who beg'd he would remember, that by the mother's side king Pyrrhus was his grandfather, as well as Hiero, he sent another embassy, to let the Carthaginians know, 'that he thought it reasonable all Sicily should be ceded to him, and the Carthaginians should purchase dominions for themselves in Italy.' The Carthaginians were neither surprized at, or blamed the levity and inconstancy of this hair-brain'd youth, so long as they could draw him off from the Roman interest.

BUT every thing turned to his own destruction. CHAP.

<sup>a</sup> It rises in mount *Madonia*, and after a course of 8000 paces, falls into the *Lybian* sea.



CHAP. VII. Epicydes and Hippocrates were detached before with 2000 men to try to get possession of the cities that had Roman garisons. The king himself marched with all the rest of his army, about 15000 foot and horse, to Leontini. Here the conspirators, who were almost all soldiers, possessed themselves of an empty house which stood upon a narrow lane, by which the king used to come into the forum. While the rest stood here prepared and armed, waiting his passing by, Dinomenes, who was an accomplice, and one of his body guard, had it in charge to stop the guards under some pretext or other in the lane, while the king was near the door of the house. He executed his commission according to agreement. For having lifted up his foot, under pretext to slacken the string of his buskin, he stopt the troop so long, that the king was attacked as he passed without guards, and had received several wounds before he could receive any assistance. When the alarm was given, several weapons were let fly at Dinomenes, who faced about, and defended himself. He escaped, being wounded only in two places. The guards fled when they saw the king lying dead. Some of the murderers went into the forum to the multitude, which rejoiced at the recovery of their liberty; others to Syracuse, to prevent the designs of Andranodorus, and the other royal partizans. In this fluctuating state of affairs, the prætor, Ap. Claudius, who foresaw the war would soon break out, wrote to the senate, that Sicily inclined to join Hannibal. In the mean time he drew all his troops towards the frontiers of Syracuse, to guard against the enterprizes of the inhabitants of that province. In the end of the campaign, Fabius fortified Puteoli, which then began to be a frequented port, on account of the war. After placing a garison in it, he set out for Rome to preside at the election of magistrates. On his way he ordered the comitia to be assembled on the first assembly day, and on his arrival, without entering the city, repaired to the field of Mars. The lot to vote first



first having fallen to the century of the younger men in the tribe of the Anio, and they nominated to the consulate T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius Regillus, Fabius ordered silence to be made, and thus harangued the assembly.

‘ If we either had peace in Italy, or were at war CHAP.  
 ‘ with a general who would not take advantage of VIII.  
 ‘ our errors, I should look on him as an enemy to  
 ‘ your liberty, who should oppose your conferring in  
 ‘ this assembly honors on whom you pleased. But  
 ‘ as every error committed in this war, and against  
 ‘ this general, has made our republic severely smart,  
 ‘ you ought to use the same precaution in electing  
 ‘ consuls, as if you were to give the enemy battle.  
 ‘ Each of you ought to say to himself, I am to chuse  
 ‘ a consul who shall be a match for Hannibal. This  
 ‘ very year at Capua, Asellus Claudius, the bravest  
 ‘ of the Romans, was pitched upon to accept the  
 ‘ challenge of Jubellius Taurea, the stoutest cavalier  
 ‘ among the Campanians. Our ancestors, trusting  
 ‘ to the courage and strength of T. Manlius, sent  
 ‘ him to fight a champion of the Gauls on the bridge  
 ‘ of the Anio. For like reasons a few years after,  
 ‘ we did not refuse to let M. Valerius, on whom  
 ‘ we could rely, meet a Gaul, who in like manner  
 ‘ challenged any of the Romans to single combat.  
 ‘ As we desire to have all our horse and foot stronger  
 ‘ than, or at least a match for the enemy ; so we  
 ‘ ought to look for a general equal to their’s. If we  
 ‘ chuse the ablest general in Rome, yet as he is only  
 ‘ chosen for one year, the enemy, who is an old  
 ‘ commander, and constantly at the head of armies,  
 ‘ will have the advantage, as he is under no restraint,  
 ‘ with respect to time or laws, but at full liberty to  
 ‘ suit his conduct to the exigencies of the war. But  
 ‘ this is not the case with us. Before our preparati-  
 ‘ ons are completed, and when our consuls are just  
 ‘ entering on action, the year is almost elapsed. But  
 ‘ let what is said suffice with regard to the qualifica-  
 ‘ tions of the men you ought to chuse. It now re-  
 ‘ mains



CHAP.  
VIII.

mains to say somewhat of those to whom the prerogative century have given their suffrages. M. Æmilius Regillus is priest of Romulus; so that we could not remove him from the duties of religion, without neglecting the worship of the Gods; nor detain him here without prejudice to the war. Otacilius is married to my niece, by whom he has children. But your favors to my ancestors and to me have not been so inconsiderable, that my private affections should prevail over my regard to the exigencies of the state. In a calm any seaman, nay passenger, may steer the ship; but when a furious storm arises, and the vessel is violently tossed by winds and waves, it requires a skilful and courageous pilot. We are not in a calm sea, but brought by successive storms to the brink of drowning. For this reason you ought to be very careful and cautious whom you place at the helm. We have made trial of you, Otacilius, in meaner employments, and you gave us no reason to induce us to rely on you in more important ones. We fitted out the fleet which you commanded this year for three reasons; to ravage the coasts of Africa, protect those of Italy, but principally to have intercepted the aids of money and provisions coming from Carthage to Hannibal. Chuse Otacilius consul, Romans, if he has answered, I do not say all, but only one of those destinations. But, on the contrary, if the Carthaginian has received every thing from his own country, with as much safety and security as if the sea had been open; if the coasts of Italy have been more infested this year than the coasts of Africa, can you shew any cause why we should prefer you to command against Hannibal? If you was consul, we should declare, after the example of our ancestors, that there was an absolute necessity for chusing a dictator. Neither could you be angry that some person in the state was reckoned a better general than you. For it is no body's interest more than your's, T. Otacilius,



cilius, not to have a burden laid on your shoulders under which you must necessarily sink. Let me conjure you then, Romans, to bear the same mind in electing consuls this day, as if standing in battle you were this moment to chuse two generals, under whose conduct and auspices you would give battle; and to chuse such consuls, as your children could freely take the military oath to, rendezvous at their order, and fight under their happy auspices. Thrasymen and Cannæ are sad but useful lessons of caution to us. Crier, call the prerogative century to vote again.'

WHEN T. Otacilius made a great noise, and CHAP. IX. exclaimed against the consul, as desiring to be continued in office, Fabius ordered his lictors to go to him. As he had not entered the city, but came directly off his journey into the place of assembly, he bade him observe that the fasces with the axes were still carried before him. The prerogative century voted anew, and elected Q. Fabius Maximus a fourth time, and M. Marcellus a third. The other centuries unanimously followed the precedent. Q. Fulv. Flaccus was continued in the prætorship, and had three new colleagues, T. Otacilius Crassus a second time, Q. Fabius, son of the consul, and ædile at that time, and P. Cornelius Lentulus. After the election of prætors, the senate decreed, 'that Q. Fulvius should be city prætor without drawing lots, and command in Rome after the consuls should take the field.' This year there happened two great inundations of the Tiber, which overflowed the lands, carried away many houses, and drowned great numbers of men and cattle. In the fifth year of the second Punic war, Q. Fabius Maximus a fourth time, and M. Claudius Marcellus a third, having entered upon the consulate, drew the attention of the whole state upon them in an uncommon degree. Two consuls of such extraordinary merit had not been seen in office for many years. The old men made the comparison between them and Maximus Rullianus and P. Decius, who had been chosen consuls for the war

Q. Fabius  
Maximus,  
M. Cl. Mar-  
cellus, con-  
suls.  
Y. of R. 538.  
B. J. C. 214.



war with the Gauls, Papirius and Carvilius, who had been sent against the Samnites, Bruttians, Lucanians and Tarentines. Marcellus was elected in his absence with the army. Fabius was on the spot, and presiding at the election, when he was continued in office. The critical conjuncture, necessity of chusing an able general, and the danger of the state, made people overlook their regular precedent, and none expressed the least jealousy of the consul's aspiring to sovereign authority. They rather applauded his greatness of soul, in chusing, when he knew the state wanted the most able general she had, and himself was the person, rather to despise the envy that such a proceeding would draw upon him, than neglect the interests of the commonwealth.

CHAP.  
X.

THE same day on which the consuls took possession of their office, the senate met in the capitol. The first act they passed was, that the consuls should draw lots which of them should preside in the comitia for the election of censors, before they went to the army. Then they continued in their employments all who had the command of armies. Ti. Gracchus in Luceria, where he was with the Volones; Varro in Picenum, and M. Pomponius in Gaul. Q. Mucius, prætor of the preceding year, obtained the government of Sardinia in quality of proprætor. M. Valerius at Brundisium, to protect the coasts, and carefully watch all the motions of king Philip. The province of Sicily was assigned to the present prætor P. Cornelius Lentulus, and to T. Otacilius the same fleet he had commanded against the Carthaginians the preceding year. Many prodigies were reported this year. The more credit those reports gained with simple superstitious persons, the more they increased. Ravens built their nests within the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium. In Apulia a green palm-tree took fire. At Mantua a pond, which broke down it's banks, and ran into the Mincio, appeared red like blood. At Cale it rained chalk, and blood in the ox-market at Rome. In the street called Ulstrino, a spring broke out of the earth with such violence,



olence, that with it's large stream it bore away the  
 butts and barrels in the place. The public hall in the  
 capitol, the temple of Vulcan in the field of Mars,  
 a nut-tree in Sabinia, the public street, walls and gate  
 of Gabii, were struck with lightning. At Præneste  
 the spear of Mars moved of itself. In Sicily an ox  
 spoke. In the country of the Marrucini, a child in  
 it's mother's belly, called out, Io triumphe. At  
 Spoletum a woman changed her sex. At Adria the  
 figures of men clothed in white, ranged round an al-  
 tar, were seen in the air. At Rome likewise a swarm  
 of bees settled in the forum. Some, by affirming  
 they had seen armed legions in Janiculus, alarmed  
 the whole city, who ran to arms. But those who were  
 on that hill at the time insisted no body had been seen  
 there except it's usual inhabitants. By direction of the  
 haruspices the greater sacrifices were offered to expiate  
 these prodigies, and a supplication appointed to all  
 the Gods who had shrines at Rome.

CHAP.

X.

W H E N every thing that concerned appeasing  
 the Gods was finished, the consuls laid a state of the  
 war before the Senate, what forces were necessary,  
 and where to be employ'd. Eighteen legions were  
 appointed for the service of the current year. The  
 consuls were to have two. Two for Gaul, Sicily and  
 Sardinia. Q. Fabius the prætor two in Apulia ;  
 Ti. Gracchus, in Luceria, two of volunteer slaves.  
 The pro-consul Varro one in Picenum, Valerius  
 another for the fleet at Brundisium, and two to be  
 left in the city. To complete the number six new  
 legions were ordered to be levy'd by the consuls as  
 soon as possible. They were likewise to fit out a  
 fleet, which, with the ships stationed on the coast of  
 Calabria, would make the ships of war in com-  
 mission that year an hundred and fifty. When the  
 levies were completed and the new ships launched,  
 Fabius held the comitia for the election of censors.  
 M. Atilius Regulus and Q. Furius Philus were cho-  
 sen. As it was confidently reported that the war was  
 already broke out in Sicily, T. Otacilius was ordered  
 thither with the fleet under his command. As sailors  
 were

CHAP.

XI.



CHAP. XI. were wanting, the consuls by virtue of a decree of the senate, ordered, ' that every citizen, whose father or himself had been rated by the censors L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius worth 50000<sup>a</sup> asses of brass, or should since have acquired a fortune of that value, should furnish one seaman paid for six months. Whoever had above 100,000<sup>b</sup>, to 300,000<sup>c</sup>, should furnish three paid for a whole year. Whoever had above 300,000, to 1000000<sup>d</sup>, should furnish five. Whoever had above 1000000 should furnish seven, and senators eight, paid for a year.' The seamen, raised in virtue of this edict, being equip'd and arm'd by their masters, embarked with thirty days provisions ready dressed. This was the first time that the Roman fleet was supplied with hands at the expence of private persons.

CHAP. XII. THESE preparations, which were greater than usual, made the Capuans exceedingly apprehensive that the campaign would be opened with the siege of their capital. Therefore they sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to beg him to draw near Capua, for a new army was raising at Rome to besiege it: And the Romans were more incensed at the revolt of it, than of any other city. The consternation in which they brought Hannibal this advice, made him hasten his march, in order to be beforehand with the Romans. Setting out therefore from Arpi, he encamped on his old ground on mount Tifata above Capua. Having left the Numidians and Spaniards to defend both the camp and the town, he marched with his other troops down to the lake Avernus, under pretext of sacrificing, but in fact to make an attempt on Puteoli, and the garison there. As soon as Maximus received advice, that Hannibal was marched from Arpi back into Campania, he set out for the army and travelled night and day. He ordered Ti. Gracchus to quit Luceria with his troops and come to Beneventum, and his son Q. Fabius the prætor to take Gracchus's quarters. At the same time the two prætors went into

<sup>a</sup> 161 l. 9 s. 2 d. <sup>b</sup> 322 l. 18 s. 4 d. <sup>c</sup> 1866 l. 14 s. <sup>d</sup> 3229 l. 3 s. 4 d.  
Sicily,



Sicily, P. Cornelius to command the army, and Otacilius to command the fleet. All the rest went into their respective provinces. Those who had been continued in their commands had the same provinces assigned them, that they had the preceding year.

WHEN Hannibal was at the lake Avernus,

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five young noblemen came to him from Tarentum. Some of them had been taken prisoners at Thrasymen, and some at Cannæ, and had been dismissed with the

same civility, that the Carthaginian exercised towards all the Roman allies. They told him, ' that in gra-

' titude for his generosity, they had wrought upon

' the greatest part of the Tarentine youth, to shake

' off the Roman yoke and make an alliance with him.

' They were sent as ambassadors from their country-

' men, to beg him to come with his troops towards

' Tarentum. If his ensigns and camp could once

' be descry'd from Tarentum, the town would be

' immediately surrendered. For the youth had an

' absolute ascendant over the people, and the people

' had the chief management of affairs at Tarentum.'

The Carthaginian caressed the deputies, and having

loaded them with presents, sent them back to hasten

what they had begun, promising he would soon be

with them. He had a great desire to get possession

of Tarentum. He considered it was a rich, important

place, lying very commodiously over against Mace-

don. As the Romans were in possession of Brundisi-

um, Philip might easily land at Tarentum. There-

fore, after having finished the sacrifice for which

he came, and while he staid ravaged the Cuman ter-

ritories as far as the promontory of Misenum<sup>a</sup>, he all

of a sudden marched to Puteoli, to surprize the Ro-

man garison. It consisted of 6000 men, and the place

was fortified both by nature and art. After staying

here three days, and attacking the garison on all sides

without success, he marched to ravage the lands of

Naples, not so much with hope of taking the city, as

to revenge himself on the inhabitants. On his arrival

<sup>a</sup> Cape *Miseno* near the port called *Porto Giulio*.



CHAP. in the neighborhood of Nola, the populace, who for  
 XIII. a long time hated the Romans and their own senate,  
 made an insurrection. They sent deputies to invite the Carthaginian to come, under positive assurances of surrendering their city to him. But the consul Marcellus, who had been sent for by the principal men, prevented their design. Though he was stop'd by the river Volturnus, yet he marched in one day from Cale to Sueffula. Next night he threw 6000 foot and 300 horse into Nola, to protect the senate. As the consul by his activity had thus been beforehand in securing Nola, so Hannibal begun to abate of his ardor. As he had twice before attempted that city in vain, he was not now so easily inclined to confide in the populace of it.

CHAP. ABOUT the same time the consul Fabius ad-  
 XIV. vanced to besiege Casilinum, which was defended by  
 a Carthaginian garison. On one side Hanno with a great army from Bruttium, and on the other Ti. Gracchus from Luceria came to Beneventum, as if it had been by concert. Gracchus entered the town first. Being informed that Hanno, who was encamped at the Calore<sup>a</sup>, within three miles of the town, ravaged the country, he likewise quitted the place and encamped within a mile of the enemy, where he harangued his troops. Most of them were volunteer slaves, who during the two years they had served chose rather to deserve their liberty by actions, than openly demand it by clamor. However he had observed some murmurs among them on quitting their winter quarters. They asked one another, 'whether they should ever see themselves free?' On this their General had wrote to the senate, to inform them of what his troops merited, rather than what they had demanded. 'To this day, said he, they have served me with courage and fidelity, and they want nothing but liberty to make them accomplished soldiers.' The senate gave him permission to act in that respect, as he should judge most for the interest of the republic.

<sup>a</sup> Rises in the *Apennines* and retains it's former name.



In consequence, before he engaged he told them, that the time was come to obtain that liberty, which they had long hoped for. Next day they were to give battle in an open and spacious plain, where, without fear of ambuscades, they would have an occasion to shew their bravery. Whoever should bring him the head of an enemy, he would immediately make free; but whoever should quit his post he would punish like a slave. Each of them had their fortune in their own power. They had not only his word, and that of the consul Marcellus, but the security of all the fathers whom he had consulted on granting them their liberty, and who left him at liberty to act as he pleased. Then he read the consul's letters and the decree of the senate. They immediately sent up a great shout, demanded to be led to battle, and strenuously insisted on having the signal given that instant. Gracchus, having declared they should fight next day, dismissed the assembly. The troops, especially those whose behavior alone in next day's action was to gain them their liberty, full of joy spent the rest of the day in preparing their arms.

AS soon as the signal was given next day, they were the first that assembled round the general's tent in their accoutrements and ready prepared. At sunrise Gracchus drew them out in order of battle. The enemy did not decline the fight. Their army was composed of 17000 foot, most of them Bruttians and Lucanians; and of 1200 horse, all Numidians and Moors, excepting a few Italians. The battle was long, and fought with great resolution. The victory remained doubtful for four hours. Nothing incommoded the Romans so much as securing the heads of the enemy which were to purchase their liberty. For when a soldier had gallantly killed an enemy, he at first lost time in cutting off his head, which was a difficult matter amidst the tumult and disorder. Besides when it was effected, holding of it employed one of his hands. By these means the bravest men



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were incapable of fighting, and the battle left to the most backward and cowardly part of the troops. When the legionary tribunes informed Gracchus, that none of his men wounded a living enemy, but were butchering the dead, whose heads they held in their hands instead of their swords, he quickly ordered them to throw down the heads and attack the enemy, telling them they had sufficiently signalized their valor, and whoever had behaved gallantly might assure himself of obtaining his liberty. This renewed the battle, and the horse were made to advance. The Numidians came on to meet them with great bravery, and by the horse fighting as gallantly as the foot, the battle again became doubtful, while both generals depreciated each other's troops. The Carthaginian said the Romans were slaves stript of their chains to make them bear arms. Gracchus put his men in mind how often their ancestors had defeated the Brutians and Lucanians. At last he declared, they might give over all hopes of liberty, if they did not beat and put the enemy to flight.

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THAT menacing sentence animated them to such a degree, that setting up new shouts, and that instant becoming as it were new men, they charged the enemy with such fury, that nothing was capable of resisting them. At first the front line, then the second, and at last the whole main body of the Carthaginians gave way. The rout was general and they regained their camp in such terror and consternation, that none defended either gates, or ramparts, and the Romans, who entered it pellmell, began a new battle within the entrenchments. As the space they fought in was narrow, the battle was the more bloody. Some Roman prisoners, who during the tumult seized arms and formed themselves into a body, assisted their countrymen by falling on the enemy's rear, and stopping their flight. Of so great an army scarce 2000, and the most of these horse, escaped with their general. The rest were all either killed or taken prisoners. 38 ensigns were taken. The conquerors lost 2000 men.

The



The whole plunder was abandoned to the troops, CHAP.  
except the prisoners and cattle which should be claimed XVI.  
by the owners within thirty days. As they were

returning to their camp loaded with booty, about 4000 of the Volones, who had fought with less ardor than their companions, and had not broke into the camp with them, retired to an adjacent hill, apprehending punishment for their cowardice. Next day a legionary tribune brought them to the camp, just as Gracchus was beginning to harangue his troops. He first gave the old soldiers the rewards they merited in proportion to their bravery and the efforts they had used in the battle. Then with respect to the Volones he said, ‘ He chose rather to praise them  
‘ all, deserving and undeserving, indiscriminately,  
‘ than to punish any of them that day. Therefore  
‘ he declared them all free, which he pray’d might  
‘ prove beneficial, auspicious, and fortunate to the  
‘ republick, to themselves and to their children.’ At this they sent up shouts with the greatest alacrity, and embracing and congratulating each other lifted up their hands to heaven, and implored all kinds of blessings on the Roman people and their general. Then Gracchus resumed his speech. ‘ I was unwilling  
‘ to make any distinction between the brave and the  
‘ cowards before I had put you all on a level, by  
‘ granting you your liberty. But now that I have  
‘ acquitted myself of the promise I made in name of  
‘ the public, in order to maintain the difference between cowardice and valor, I order the names of  
‘ all those, who separated from the rest for fear of  
‘ punishment for their ill behavior in battle, to be  
‘ brought to me. I will cite them before me, and make  
‘ them take an oath, never to eat their meals standing,  
‘ as long as they serve in the army, except obliged to  
‘ the contrary by sickness. If you reflect, that your  
‘ cowardice could not be punished less severely, you  
‘ will bear this mortification with patience.’ Then he gave orders to pack up the baggage and march. The troops, either carrying or driving their booty before them,



CHAP. them, returned to Beneventum in such transports of  
 XVI. mirth and joy, that they seemed rather guests re-  
 turned from an entertainment, than soldiers from a  
 battle. The inhabitants came out in a body to  
 meet them, and embracing and congratulating the  
 soldiers, invited them to their houses. Entertainments  
 were served up in the court yard of every house, and  
 they beg'd Gracchus would permit his men to par-  
 take of them. He gave them liberty on condition  
 they should all eat in public. Accordingly the tables  
 were spread before each door. The slaves who had  
 obtained their liberty feasted in white woollen caps,  
 some lying and some standing. They ate and serv'd  
 their companions at the same time. Gracchus was  
 so pleased with this day's sight, that on his return to  
 Rome he had it painted, and ordered the picture to  
 be hung up in the temple of Liberty, which his father  
 had built, and dedicated, on the Aventine hill, with  
 the money that arose from fines.

CHAP. DURING these transactions at Beneventum,  
 XVII. Hannibal, having ravaged the territories of Naples,  
 encamped near Nola. As soon as the consul was ap-  
 prized of his arrival, he ordered the pro-prætor  
 Pomponius to join him with the troops encamped  
 above Sueffula, and prepared to meet the enemy, and  
 give him battle immediately. In the dead of night  
 he detached Claudius Nero, with the flower of the  
 cavalry, through the back gate. He ordered him,  
 after fetching a compass, privately to approach the  
 enemy by little and little, and charge them in the  
 rear, when he saw the battle begun. Nero could  
 not execute his orders, but whether by losing his  
 way, or for want of sufficient time, is uncertain.  
 The battle was fought without him, and the Romans  
 had an undoubted advantage. Yet, by reason of the  
 cavalry's not coming up in time, their scheme was  
 quite disconcerted and did not succede as they expected.  
 Marcellus, not daring to pursue the enemy in their  
 flight, founded a retreat, though his troops were

\* The badge of liberty.



victorious. Upwards of 2000 of the enemy were killed that day, and about 400 Romans. About sun-set, Nero, having in vain fatigued his men and horse during a night and a day, returned without seeing the enemy. The consul reprimanded him severely, for being the sole cause of their not repaying the enemy the defeat at Cannæ. The next day Marcellus marched out in order of battle. But the Carthaginian kept within his entrenchments, which was a tacit confession of his being overcome. The third day he decamped, by favor of the night, and despairing of gaining Nola, which he had so often attempted in vain, retired to Tarentum, where he hoped to succede better.

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THE Romans shew'd no less spirit in their affairs at home than in those of the war. The cenfors, who, for want of money in the treasury, were not employ'd in public works, apply'd themselves entirely to reform the manners and correct the vices of the citizens, which, like bad humors contracted by long diseases, had been brought on by the war. They first cited those who intended to have abandoned the state by quitting Italy after the battle of Cannæ. The chief of them was L. Cæcilius Metellus, who happened then to be quæstor. They ordered him and all the rest guilty of the same crime, to make their defence. But as they could not justify themselves, they were declared guilty of having held treasonable conferences, which tended to form a conspiracy for quitting Italy. Next were cited, those who were dextrous in finding subterfuges to evade keeping oaths; viz. those prisoners, who thought that they were discharged from their oath by secretly returning to Hannibal's camp. These, with them already mentioned, were deprived of the horses furnished them at the public charge, degraded from their tribes, and retained no other mark of being citizens, but paying taxes. The cenfors were not only not content with reforming the senate and order of knights, but likewise rased out of the rolls the names of all the youth who had not served in the army during four years, without having been sick,

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or having some other valid reason. These, who amounted to above 2000, were all removed from their tribes, and enrolled among such as enjoy'd no mark of citizenship, but paying taxes. Besides this ignominious sentence passed on them by the censors, the senate passed a decree no less severe: ' That all  
' those, who had been stigmatized by the censors,  
' should serve on foot, and be sent into Sicily to join  
' the remains of that army that fled from Cannæ,  
' which was not to be discharged till the enemy was  
' driven out of Italy.' As the censors, for want of money in the treasury, had made no contracts for repairing the temples, buying horses for the service of the curule magistrates<sup>a</sup>, and other expences of that kind, those who used to make such contracts came in crowds to them and desired them to procede in their repairs and buildings, as if the treasury had money to detract the expence. For none of them would demand any money from the treasury, till the war was terminated. Then the masters of the slaves, to whom Sempronius had granted their freedom at Beneventum, assembled, saying they had been called by the public commissioners to receive the price of their slaves, but would not accept of it before the war was ended. This general propensity in the people to supply the wants of the treasury induced the managers for minors and widows to bring in their fortunes to the quæstors, who gave credit for the money, being persuaded, that the public faith was the most sacred security for the deposite. If any necessaries were to be bought for these pupils and widows, the quæstors were to give credit for it. This generosity of private persons passed from the city to the camp. The horse and the officers would not receive their pay, and those who did, were reproached as mercenary wretches.

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THE consul Fabius was encamped near Casilinum, which was garison'd by 2000 Campanians and 700 of Hannibal's troops. Statius Metius, who had been sent by Cn. Magius Atellanus, chief magistrate

<sup>a</sup> Fest. Pompeius.



of Capua, commanded it. The latter armed both slaves and inhabitants indiscriminately, to attack the Roman camp, while the consul was intent on making himself master of the town. Fabius had exact intelligence of all that was doing at Capua. For this reason he sent to his colleague at Nola, to inform him, that while he besieged Casilinum, it would be necessary to oppose the Campanians with another army. He therefore desired he would leave a small garison at Nola, and come to him, or if his presence were necessary there, and that city had any thing still to apprehend from Hannibal, he would send for Ti. Gracchus, who was at Beneventum. Upon this message Marcellus, having left 2000 men to garison Nola, marched with the remainder of his troops to Casilinum. His arrival obliged the Campanians who were already in motion to keep quiet. Then the two consuls begun their attack on the town. As many of the Romans were wounded by too rashly approaching the walls, and the enterprize did not succede to their wish, Fabius was of opinion that they ought to give over the attack of an inconsiderable place, which gave them as much trouble as a greater, and retire as they had more important affairs on their hands. But Marcellus prevented raising the siege by representing, ‘ that as able generals, ought not to undertake every enterprize, so they ought not easily to abandon what they have once agreed on ; because reputation in war contributed exceedingly to the good or bad success of it.’ The Romans therefore made their galleries and all other machines advance against the town. In consequence the Campanians desired permission of Fabius to retire to Capua. A few of them had gone out when Marcellus seized the gate through which they passed. At first he put all about the gate to the sword without distinction, and at last, having forced his way into the town, he began the slaughter there likewise. About fifty Campanians who had got out at first, took refuge with Fabius who sent an escort with them to



to Capua. Thus, during the conferences and slowness of those, who were suing for protection, the enemy got an opportunity to seize Casilinum. All the prisoners, as well Campanians as Carthaginians, were sent to Rome, and there imprisoned. The inhabitants were distributed among the neighboring cities.

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XX.



AT the same time that the victorious consuls retired from Casilinum, Gracchus detached, under a prefect of the allies, some cohorts, which he had levied in that country, to ravage the enemies lands. Hanno having attacked them as they were dispersed, repaid the Romans almost the loss he had sustained at Beneventum, and then expeditiously retired to Brutium for fear Gracchus should follow him. Marcellus returned to Nola, from whence he came, and Fabius marched into Samnium to ravage the country, and storm the revolted towns. He utterly ruined the territory of Caudium with fire and sword, and drove off a vast booty of men and cattle. He took by storm Compulteria <sup>a</sup>, Telesia <sup>b</sup>, Compsa, Melæ <sup>c</sup>, Fulfulæ <sup>d</sup>, and Orbitanium <sup>e</sup>. From the Lucanians he took Blandæ <sup>f</sup>, and Æcæ <sup>g</sup> from the Apulians. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were either killed or taken at storming these towns. Three hundred and seventy deserters were also recovered. These the consul sent to Rome, where they were all thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, after having been scourged with rods in the forum. All these exploits Fabius performed in a few days. Marcellus was prevented from acting by sickness, which detained him at Nola. About the same time the prætor Fabius, who was commissioned to act about Luceria, took the city of Accua <sup>h</sup> by storm, and fixed his camp at Ardonea <sup>i</sup>. While the Romans were thus successful elsewhere, Hannibal was arrived at Taren-

<sup>a</sup> According to Holstein, *S. Maria de couvultere*, in the *Terra di Lavoro*.

<sup>b</sup> Near the conflux of the *Labate* and *Volturnus*.

<sup>c</sup> *Melito*, in the *Further Principality*.

<sup>d</sup> *Monte Fusculo*, in the same place.

<sup>e</sup> Unknown.

<sup>f</sup> It stood on the *Laüs*.

<sup>g</sup> The present *Troy* in the *Capitanate*.

<sup>h</sup> *Accadia* near *St. Agathe*, on the confines of the *Further Principality*, and *Apulia*.

<sup>i</sup> *Ardona* in the *Capitanata*.



tum, after having made great havoc in all the country through which he marched. At last, when he entered the Tarentine dominions, he ceased hostilities, and committed no sort of violence, nor ever went off his rout. Yet it plainly appeared, this was not owing to the moderation of the general, or his troops, but to a desire of conciliating the affections of the Tarentines. But when he approached the walls, and no motion was made in his favor on descrying his advanced guard, as he had fondly imagined, he encamped within a mile of the town. Three days before his arrival, M. Valerius, admiral of the fleet at Brundisium, had sent M. Livius to Tarentum. This officer, having mustered the flower of their youth, and placed sentinels at all the gates, and guards round the walls, as was requisite in that conjuncture, was so very watchful both night and day, that he neither gave the enemy nor his wavering allies an opportunity to attempt any thing. The Carthaginian having spent several days there to no purpose, without seeing or receiving message or letters from those who had been with him at the lake Avernus, discovered what vain hopes he had rashly followed, and decamped. He did not even then touch the Tarentines lands, for he had not yet renounced all hopes of their revolting from the Romans. Then he arrived at Salapia<sup>k</sup>. As the campaign was far advanced, and he liked the place for winter quarters, he caused corn to be carried thither from the country about Metapontus and Heraclea. Hence likewise he detached the Moors and Numidians to ravage the territories of Salentum, and the forests adjoining to Apulia. Here he got little other booty except horses, 4000 of which he gave to his troopers to break.

THE Romans apprehending that a dangerous war was like to break out in Sicily, and that the death of Hieronymus had not so much altered the situation or dispositions of the Syracusans, as it had

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<sup>k</sup> Now a village called *Salpe*.



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placed enterprizing generals at their head, assigned that province to one of their consuls, Marcellus. Immediately after the murder of Hieronymus, the troops in Leontini mutinied, loudly demanding that the king's death should be expiated by the blood of the regicides. But by hearing frequent mention of the restoration of their dear liberties, being made to hope for a largess out of the king's treasures, and of serving under better generals, besides a relation of the tyrant's black crimes and foul lusts, their minds were so altered, that they suffered his body to lye unburied, for whom they had a little before expressed so great grief. While the other conspirators staid behind to gain over the army, Theodotus and Sosis rode post on the king's horses to Syracuse, in order to surprize the royalists, before they were apprized of any thing that had happened. But not only fame, which in such cases outflies every thing, but a courier from the king's ministers had arrived before them. In consequence Andranodorus had fortified the island Ortygia<sup>a</sup>, the citadel, and all other convenient places that

<sup>a</sup> *Syracuse* was situated upon the eastern coast of *Sicily*. It was founded by Archias the Corinthian, a year after *Naxos* and *Megara*, upon the same coast. It was composed, at the time of which we are speaking, of five parts, that were in a manner so many cities joining together: the *Ile*, *Acbradina*, *Tycha*, *Neapolis*, or the *New-town*, and *Epipolæ*. The *Ile*, situated to the south, was called *Naxos*, a Greek word, that signifies an island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect, which was in use at *Syracuse*. It was also called *Ortygia*. It was joined to the main land by a bridge. In this *Ile* were the palace of the kings and the citadel. This part of the city was of great importance, because it made those who possessed it masters of the two ports that surrounded it. *Acbradina*, situated entirely upon the sea-side, was the finest, most spacious, and best fortified part of the city. It was separated from the rest by a good wall, flanked with towers from di-

stance to distance. *Tycha*, so called from the temple of Fortune, extended partly along *Acbradina*, ascending from the south to the north. It was also much inhabited. It had a famous gate, called *Hexapyla*, which led into the country. Almost opposite to *Hexapyla* was a little town called *Leon*. *Neapolis*, or *New-town*, extended west along *Tycha*. *Epipolæ* was an eminence without the city, that commanded it, and was very steep, and consequently of very difficult access. When the Athenians besieged *Syracuse*, it was not inclosed with walls, and had none till the time of Dionysius the tyrant, when it formed a fifth part of the city, but was little inhabited. At the bottom of this eminence was a famous prison called the mines, *Latonicæ*; and close by it the fort *Labdalon*. It was bounded at top by another fort called *Euryalus*. The river *Anapus* ran a small half league from the city, and emptied itself into the great port. Not far from it's mouth was a kind



that he could. Theodotus and Sosis, having arrived after sunset at a part of the town called Hexapylus, exposed the royal robe and diadem all over blood. Then proceeding through Tycha, and inviting them to take up arms in vindication of their liberty, they desired they would assemble in Achradina. Some of the multitude ran out into the streets, some stood in the porches of their houses, and others in their windows, and on the tops of their houses, asking what the matter was. Illuminations were made in all parts, and every place in the greatest confusion. Those that had arms assembled in the streets; those that had none took the spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians, which the Romans had presented to Hiero, out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, where he had hung them up. They prayed Jupiter propitiously and willingly to bestow on them these sacred arms, as they were arming in defence of their country, the temples of their Gods, and their liberty. This multitude were posted in different quarters of the city by the principal conspirators. Amongst other places in Ortygia, Andranodorus put a garison in the public granaries. They were built of hewn stone, and fortified like a citadel. But they were seized by a body of youth, who had been appointed to guard that quarter, and who immediately sent word to Achradina, that the corn and granaries were at the senate's disposal.

BY day-break all the people, armed and unarmed, repaired to the senate-house in Achradina. There one of the chiefs, named Polyænus, standing before the altar of Concord, made them the following free and moderate speech. ‘ Men, who have experienced slavery and indignity, are commonly irritated at the apprehension of those calamities, from the sense they formerly had of them. But you have

of castle called *Olympium*, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius. *Syracuse* had two ports, very near each other, being separated only by the *Ile*: the great, and the little port, called otherwise *Laccus*. The great

port had on the left a gulf called *Dasco*, and a fort called *Plemmyrium*. A little above *Achradina*, near the tower *Galeagra*, there was a third port called *Trogilus*.

‘ rather



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rather heard from your fathers, than been eye-wit-  
 nesses of the miseries that attend a civil war. You  
 are to be commended for being so ready to take  
 arms; but you will deserve praise more, if you use  
 them not till forced by absolute necessity. At pre-  
 sent I think our best way would be to send depu-  
 ties to Andranodorus to require him to submit to  
 the senate and people; to open the gates of Orty-  
 gia, and withdraw his garison. But if, under pre-  
 text of being guardian to the kingdom of another,  
 he intends to usurp it to himself, I declare, we  
 will wrest our liberty with greater vigor from An-  
 dranodorus, than we have done from Hieronymus.  
 In virtue of this speech the deputies were sent. Then  
 the senate entered upon deliberations. Though during  
 the reign of Hiero this public council had subsisted,  
 yet till that day it had never been assembled or con-  
 sulted in any affair since his death. In the mean time  
 the deputies were with Andranodorus, who was mo-  
 ved by the unanimous consent of the citizens. Be-  
 sides, he had considered that the other parts of the  
 city were secured, and the strongest part of Ortygia  
 betray'd, and in his enemy's hands. But his wife  
 Demarata, daughter of Hiero, puffed up with the  
 thoughts of her royal birth, and the pride peculiar to  
 women, took him aside, and put him in mind of a  
 common saying of the tyrant Dionysius. 'No man  
 should quit a throne, till drag'd from it by the  
 feet. It is easy for one in a moment to resign roy-  
 alty when one will; but it is a difficult and hard  
 matter to acquire and attain to it. Demand, there-  
 fore, said she, from the deputies time to reflect  
 with yourself. When it is granted, improve it in  
 bringing the troops from Leontini. If you pro-  
 mise to distribute the king's treasures among them,  
 every thing will be at your disposal.' Andranodo-  
 rus did not totally neglect, nor immediately follow  
 this princess's advice. He thought the safest way to  
 accomplish his purposes was to temporize. In con-  
 sequence he desired the deputies to inform those who  
 sent



sent them, that he would submit to the senate and CHAP.  
people. Next morning by day-break he set open XXII.  
the gates, and went into the forum of Achradina. There he ascended the altar of Concord, from which Polyænus had harangued the day before. He introduced his speech with begging pardon for his not coming to the assembly before. ‘ I did not, said he, keep the gates of Orrygia shut from views incompatible with the public good, but from an apprehension of the bloody consequences of the sword’s being once drawn; till I should see whether the conspirators would be content with the death of the tyrant, or for his guilt murder all the innocent people who happened to be his relations, kinsmen, or servants. But as soon as I was convinced, that those who had set their country free, designed to preserve it so, and were deliberating for the general good, I did not hesitate to deliver up my own person, and every thing else that had been entrusted to my care and management, since he, who had reposed this trust in me, had perished by his own folly and madness.’ Then turning to the regicides, and addressing Theodotus and Sosis by name, ‘ You have done a noble action, said he. But, believe me, your glorious work is only begun, not completed. You are still in great danger, if you do not by all means establish peace and harmony, to prevent the abuse of the liberty you have purchased to your country.’

WHEN he had finished his speech, he laid CHAP.  
down the keys of the gates and of the king’s treasure XXIII.  
at their feet. The assembly being dismissed that day with great rejoicings, they went round all the temples with their wives and children to thank the Gods. Next day they assembled to elect prætors. Andranodorus was one of the first chosen, and with him the regicides, two of whom, Sopater and Dinomenes, were chosen in their absence. They hearing what was done at Syracuse, delivered the king’s treasure that was at Leontini to be carried to Syracuse to quæstors,



CHAP. quæstors who were chosen for the purpose. Lastly,  
 XXIII. when that part of the wall which run between Ortygia and Achradina was delivered up, it was by universal consent beat down, because it was too strong a bulwark against the rest of the town. Every other thing was acted agreeable to their present humor for liberty. When Hippocrates and Epicydes heard of the king's death, they endeavored to conceal it, by killing the messenger who brought the news. But being deserted by their troops, they returned to Syracuse, because they thought that the safest course in the present conjuncture. That they might lye under no suspicion of seeking an opportunity to bring about a revolution, they applied first to the prætors, who introduced them to the senate. There they declared, ' that they came from Hannibal to treat with his  
 ' friend and ally Hieronymus. They had only obey'd their general's commands. That they desired to return to him ; but beg'd that as their journey was not like to be with safety to their persons,  
 ' as it was infested by Roman soldiers dispersed all over the island, they might have a convoy with them  
 ' to Locris in Italy, which small favor Hannibal would most gratefully acknowledge.' Their request was easily obtained. For the senate were desirous to get rid of these generals of the late king, expert commanders, men poor and enterprizing. But they were dilatory in executing their own desires. In the interim, those young officers, who were intimate with the soldiers, spread false stories of the senators and principal men, sometimes amongst the soldiers, sometimes among the deserters, most of whom were Roman seamen, and sometimes among the very dregs of the populace. They insinuated, that under color of renewing the alliance, they had formed a plot, to surrender their state to the Romans ; that their own faction, and the small number that had renewed the treaty, might lord it in Syracuse.

CHAP. THESE rumors being readily listened to and  
 XXIV. credited, and drawing every day crowds of people:



to Syracuse, gave Andranodorus, as well as Hippocrates and Epicydes, good hopes of changing the government. He was teased with his wife's importunities. 'The time is come, said she, for seizing the throne, while every thing is in confusion, as their liberty is new, and not settled on a durable foundation; while the troops, that received the king's pay, are not disbanded; while the new generals, who had been sent by Hannibal, and were well acquainted with the troops, had it in their power to favor his enterprizes.' In a few days he concerted his scheme with the husband of Gelo's daughter, Themistius, who unadvisedly imparted the affair to one Aristo a tragedian, to whom he usually confided his secrets. He was a man well descended, and of a good estate, and his profession was no disgrace to him, because the Greeks do not deem it a dishonor to appear on the stage. Preferring therefore the interest of his country to private friendship, he discovered the plot to the prætors. When they found his testimony confirmed by certain evidences, they, in concert with the oldest senators, and by their advice, placed guards at the door of the senate-house, who slew Andranodorus and Themistius as soon as they entered. This action, which appeared very barbarous to most of the members, who knew not the reason of it, raised a great commotion in the assembly. But silence being ordered, the discoverer was introduced. He informed them of every particular in order. 'This conspiracy owed it's birth to the marriage of Themistius with Harmonia, Gelo's daughter: the African and Spanish auxiliaries were appointed to assassinate the prætors, and other principal men, whose effects were to have been the reward of the assassins. A body of mercenaries, who were accustomed to obey Andranodorus, were ready prepared to seize the island again.' Then he laid every particular before them. The several parts each were to have acted, and what persons and arms were to have been employ'd. Upon



this the senate passed a decree, declaring the death of Andranodorus and Themistius as just as that of Hieronymus. In the mean time the giddy rabble, which knew not the reason of the action, made a terrible outcry without doors. Though they uttered horrid menaces in the porch of the senate-house, yet the sight of the corps of the conspirators so terrified them, that they followed quietly in a body to the tribune of harangues. The senate and other prætors had deputed Sopater to harangue this multitude.

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THE orator began with invectives against the dead traitors, as if he had been arraigning them at the bar. Running over the actions of their past life, he charged them with all the wicked and atrocious crimes committed since the death of Hiero. ‘What,’ said he, ‘could Hieronymus, who was a boy, and scarce arrived at the age of puberty, do of himself? His guardians governed every thing, and left only the hatred to their ward. They therefore ought to have been destroyed before, or at least with Hieronymus. But these men, who had deserved and were destined to death, had been left to survive and hatch new crimes after the king was killed. At first openly, when Andranodorus, having shut the gates of the island, seized the crown as his hereditary right, and usurped a scepter, of which he was only guardian. But when, by being betray’d by those who were in the island, and besieged by the whole citizens, who were in possession of Achradi-na, he saw his open practices to attain the sovereignty frustrated, he attempted to secure it by stratagem and secret plots. He could not even be won by favors and honors, when he, in conjunction with the deliverers of his country, was chosen prætor for the defence of that liberty against which he had conspired. By being married to two ladies of the blood royal, one the daughter of Hiero, the other of Gelo, their hearts had become quite royal, and they were mad for a crown.’ At this the multitude from all quarters cried out, ‘that neither  
of





‘ of those women ought to live, nor one of the royal race be suffered to remain in being.’ Such is the nature of the multitude; they cringe in slavery, and are imperious in power. Liberty, which is the happy medium between slavery and tyranny, they neither know how to flight when deprived of it, or use with moderation when they enjoy it. Neither, as usual, were there wanting ministers to foment their fury, and excite the bloody-minded and rampant multitude to blood and massacre. For the prætors had scarce published the bill, ‘ that all the royal race should be put to death,’ than the people consented to it. The prætor sent certain officers to dispatch Demarata, daughter of Hiero, and wife of Andranodorus, and Harmonia, daughter of Gelo, and wife of Themistius.



THERE was another daughter of Hiero, named Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, who had been sent ambassador by Hieronymus to king Ptolemy, and had chosen to continue in a voluntary exile. This lady, perceiving the executioners were coming to her, took refuge in the sanctuary of her domestic Gods, with two virgins her daughters, with their hair loose, and the rest of their dress in a miserable plight. To this moving scene she added prayers, ‘ imploring them, sometimes by the memory of her father Hiero, and sometimes of her brother Gelo, not to suffer her who was innocent to smart for the resentment they bore to the guilty Hieronymus. All the benefit she enjoyed by his reign, was the banishment of her husband. While Hieronymus was alive, she had not shared the same fortune with her sister, and now he was dead, her case was very different. Why? If Andranodorus had succeeded in his enterprizes, her sister would have shared the crown with her husband; and she would have been a slave with their other subjects. If Zoippus were informed of the death of Hieronymus, and that Syracuse was re-instated in it’s liberty, there was no question but he would immediately embark, and



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return to his native country. Alas! how are men disappointed in their hopes! Must his wife and children fight for their life in a country set free? Wherein had they transgressed against liberty or the laws? What danger could be apprehended from a single woman, who was in a manner a widow? what from two orphan girls? If nothing was to be feared from them, but they were hated because they were of royal extraction, they should banish them from Syracuse and Sicily; order them to be transported to Alexandria, where she would find a husband, and her daughters a father.' But they were inexorable, and her prayers made no impression on their minds. In order therefore not to lose time to no purpose, when she saw them drawing their swords, she gave over all entreaties for herself, and earnestly implored them at least to spare her daughters, who were at an age which was treated with clemency by enraged enemies. Do not, said she, in taking your revenge upon tyrants, be guilty of the same cruelty that you abhorred in them.' As she uttered these words, they drag'd her from the sanctuary, and stab'd her. Then they fell upon the virgins, who were bespattered with their mother's blood. Fear and grief had so distracted them, that in a furious rage they forced their way out of the temple. If they could have escaped into the forum, they would have raised an insurrection in the city. But they only for some considerable time saved themselves from those armed ruffians, by running up and down within the narrow compass of the house. Nay, notwithstanding they had to struggle with so many and strong men, they often broke loose from them after they had hold of them. At last, after having received many wounds, and stained every place with their blood, they sunk down dead. This was a most melancholy murder, but became more so by a succeeding event. A little after a messenger came from the magistrates, who relented, to suspend the execution. When the people



people found that the murder had been committed with so much expedition, that they had not time to repent, or allow their rage to subside, their compassion was turned into rage. They furiously called out for an election of prætors in room of Andranodorus and Themistius, who had both been in that office. This election was not like to turn out to the satisfaction of those already in power.

THE day for the election was appointed. On it it happened beyond all expectation, that some person from the farther end of the crowd named Epicycles, and another soon after Hippocrates. As the votes for them became more frequent, they were taken for the unanimous consent of the multitude. It was a very confused assembly, as not only citizens, but soldiers, and great numbers of deserters, who ardently wished for a revolution, were admitted into the voting place. The prætors at first dissembled, and would have put off the election. But fearing a sedition, they gave way to the unanimous voice of the assembly, and declared those two generals prætors. They did not immediately upon their election discover their intentions, though they were much dissatisfied that deputies had been sent to Ap. Claudius to obtain a truce for ten days, and when that was accomplished, another deputation to treat about renewing the ancient alliance between Rome and Syracuse. The Roman prætor had then a fleet of 100 ships at Marguntia, waiting to see what the commotions occasioned by the murder of the royal race would produce, and how far the Syracusans would carry their new and untry'd liberty. About the same time Marcellus being arrived in Sicily, Appius sent the Syracusan ambassadors to him. When the consul heard their terms, he imagined matters might be accommodated, and so dispatched deputies to Syracuse to see the treaty of alliance renewed with the prætors. But they did not find Syracuse in that quiet and tranquillity it had enjoy'd formerly. It had been reported that a Carthaginian fleet had appeared off cape

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Pachynum. This dispelled the fears of Hippocrates and Epicydes, who inspired sometimes the mercenaries, and sometimes the deserters, with a jealousy that Syracuse was to be betrayed to the Romans. These false surmises the more readily gained credit, as Appius, to encourage the opposite party, had anchored with his fleet at the mouth of the harbor. At first the populace ran tumultuously to hinder the Romans from landing, in case they should attempt it.

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IN this confusion the magistrates thought it proper to call an assembly of the people. As the assembly was divided in opinion, and there was room to apprehend a sedition, one of their principal men, Apollonides, made them as salutary a speech, as could have been framed in such a conjuncture. This orator represented to them, ‘ that no state was ever  
 ‘ in such a crisis as theirs was at present, a crisis that  
 ‘ must end in perfect safety, or utter destruction.  
 ‘ For, said he, no state could be happier or more  
 ‘ fortunate, if they unanimously adhered either to the  
 ‘ Romans or Carthaginians. But if they were di-  
 ‘ vided in opinion, they would excite as dangerous a  
 ‘ war between the Syracusans themselves, as was be-  
 ‘ tween the Romans and Carthaginians. Within the  
 ‘ same walls each faction would have it’s own troops,  
 ‘ it’s own arms, and it’s own generals. They ought  
 ‘ therefore with their utmost efforts to promote una-  
 ‘ nimity. The most interesting question at present  
 ‘ was not to determine which of the two alliances  
 ‘ was to be prefer’d, Yet in the choice of allies they  
 ‘ ought rather to follow the example of Hiero than  
 ‘ of Hieronymus, and prefer an alliance, whose sa-  
 ‘ lutary effects they had happily experienced for fifty  
 ‘ years, to the uncertain friendship of Carthage,  
 ‘ who in times past had not proved faithful to her  
 ‘ treaties. It was likewise a very essential considera-  
 ‘ tion, that should they reject peace with the Cartha-  
 ‘ ginians, the war with them was for the present  
 ‘ more remote ; but they must have immediate  
 ‘ peace, or immediate war with the Romans.’ The  
 more



more dispassionate and zealous this speech appeared, the more weight it had with the people. Besides the opinion of the prætors, and the wisest of the senate, it was thought proper to have that of the officers of the army. Therefore all the principal commanders of the national troops, and of the auxiliaries, entered into deliberation with the magistrates. The matter was often debated, and with great warmth. At last, as they were in no condition to support a war with the Romans, it was agreed to make peace with them, and a deputation was sent with the Roman ambassadors to conclude it.

A FEW days after the Leontines sent ambassadors to Syracuse to demand a body of troops to defend their frontiers. The state thought this a favorable opportunity to get rid of a multitude of turbulent unruly people, and their ringleaders. Hippocrates was ordered to march thither with the deserters, who were followed by a body of mercenaries, which made in all 4000 men. This expedition was very agreeable to those who sent the troops, and to the troops themselves. For the latter were glad of an opportunity of bringing about a change in the government, which they had long desired, while the former were rejoiced that the city was purged of so rascally a multitude. But this proved only like a palliative medicine to a sick body, which soon relapses into a more grievous distemper. At first Hippocrates made stolen incursions upon the Roman province, laying waste the country. But then, he openly attacked with his whole forces a body of troops, that Appius had sent to protect the lands of the allies, and put most of them to the sword. When Marcellus was informed of this, he dispatched ambassadors to Syracuse to complain of the infraction of the treaty, and that there would never be lasting peace till Hippocrates and Epicydes were banished, not only from Syracuse, but far from all Sicily. Epicydes, fearing to be immediately impeached in the absence of his brother, and that he should have no

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share in exciting a war, went to Leontini, where perceiving the inhabitants sufficiently averse to the Roman interest, he endeavored to make them declare against Syracuse too. He represented to them, ‘ that the Syracusans had made peace with the Romans on condition that they should have dominion over all the cities formerly subject to their kings. Thus they were not contented with the enjoyment of their own liberty, if they did not obtain sovereign power, and lord it over others. Let me shew you then that you have as good a right to liberty as Syracuse. For in your city the tyrant was killed, among you the cry of liberty was first heard. At Leontini the troops deserted the king’s officers, and ran to Syracuse. Therefore you ought to have this article expressly inserted in the treaty, or refuse to accede to it.’ The multitude was easily persuaded. So that when ambassadors from Syracuse complained of the slaughter of the Roman troops, and ordered Hippocrates and Epicydes to be gone to Locris, or any other place they should chuse, provided they quitted Sicily, the Leontines haughtily replied, ‘ that they had given the Syracusans no commission to make peace for them with the Romans; and that they were not bound by other people’s treaties.’ The people of Syracuse acquainted the Romans with this answer, and declared they could not make the Leontines submit who were not their subjects; so the Romans might make war upon them without violating the treaty subsisting between Rome and Syracuse. They would assist them in that war, on condition that Leontini, after it’s reduction, should be restored to them.

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XXX.

MARCELLUS marched to Leontini with all his forces, and sent for Appius to attack it on another quarter. The ardor of his troops was so great, and they were so enraged, that their guards had been put to the sword, while a peace was negotiating, that they took the town at the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes, seeing the wall taken, and the gates

broker



broken down, retired with a small number into the citadel. From thence they escaped in the night to Erbeffus. A body of 8000 men from Syracuse were met at Mylæ by a person who told them that Leontini was taken. He told another false story, that the soldiers and inhabitants had been put to the sword without distinction, and he did not believe that any person arrived to the age of puberty had been spared: the city had been rifled, and all the effects of the rich abandoned to the soldiers. On this horrible news they halted, and being all in great perplexity, their generals, Sofis and Dinomenes, consulted what measures to take. This false story, which struck them into a panic, was occasioned by 2000 deserters, who were found in the place, being whipt and beheaded. But none of the other soldiers of Leontini had any violence offered them after it was taken; and, except what was destroyed in the first confusion, every person had their effects restored to them. This body, however, complaining that their fellow-soldiers had been betray'd to slaughter, could neither be prevailed on to procede to Leontini, nor stay where they were till they got more certain intelligence. When the prætors saw them like to mutiny, but that their seditious spirit would soon be quelled, if the ringleaders were removed, they marched to Megara. From thence they went with a small detachment of horse to Erbeffus, in hopes that in the general consternation there the city would be betray'd to them. But not succeeding in their enterprize, they resolved to have recourse to force. Hereupon they left Megara, in order to besiege Erbeffus with their whole force. Hippocrates and Epicydes, seeing all hopes of safety cut off, except one which at first sight seemed dangerous, to yield themselves up at discretion to the soldiers, with whom they were well acquainted, and who were exasperated at the report of the slaughter of their fellow soldiers, went out to meet the army. Luckily for them, 600 Cretans, who had served under them in the reign of Hieronymus,



mus, and lay under obligations to Hannibal, who had set them at liberty when they were taken prisoners at the battle of Thrasymen, marched in the van. As soon as Hippocrates and Epicydes knew them by their colors, arms and clothes, they presented them olive branches, and wreaths in a suppliant manner, imploring them to receive them into their protection, and preserve them from being delivered up to the Syracusans, who would immediately surrender them to be put to death by the Romans.

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THE Cretans immediately cried out to them to take courage, and promised to share in all their fate.

During this conference the colors halted and the whole army stopt, and the generals were not yet informed of the cause of it. But when the rumor reached them, of Hippocrates and Epicydes being there, and that the whole army approved of their coming, the prætors galloped to the front. ‘Is this your way, Cretans?’ said they, ‘What insolence is this, to hold a conference with enemies and receive them in a- mongst you, without the orders of your generals.’ Then they ordered Hippocrates to be seized and laid in irons. Hereupon the Cretans first and then the rest of the troops raised such a clamor, that the prætors plainly saw they would be in great danger, if they pushed the matter any farther. In this perplexity and uncertainty, they ordered the army to march back to Megara, from whence they came, and from thence they dispatched couriers to Syracuse with accounts of the situation they were then in. As the troops were ready to credit any report, Hippocrates fell on another stratagem. Having sent some Cretans to lye privately on the road, he read letters to the troops which he pretended he had intercepted, but in fact had himself forged. They were to this effect: After the common salutation, ‘The prætors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus, health,’ they proceeded thus: ‘You have done justly and wisely, in not sparing the lives of any of the Leontines. All the mercenaries deserve the same fate. Syracuse will never



‘ never enjoy tranquillity, while any foreigners remain in the city or the army. Endeavour therefore to reduce those who are encamped at Megara under the command of our prætors, and by their destruction, at length deliver Syracuse.’ The hearing these letters raised such a clamor among the troops who ran to arms, and so terrified the prætors, that they gallop’d away to Syracuse. But their flight did not quell the commotion. The mercenaries fell upon the Syracusan soldiers, and would not have spared a man of them, had not Epicydes and Hippocrates stopt their fury. Not from humane or compassionate principles, but not to cut off all hopes of their return to Syracuse. Besides they desired not only to secure the affection of these troops, but to keep them as hostages, at the same time that they might gain the friendship of their relations by this piece of service, and retain them as pledges till this was effected. They were well acquainted with the fickle and unconstant temper of the multitude, and therefore, having found a soldier who had been in Leontini, when it was besieged, they suborned him to go to Syracuse and tell the same story that had been told at Mylæ. He could not fail to kindle their resentment against the Romans, by confidently averring that he had been an eye witness of what the Syracusans were in a doubt about before.

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THIS man imposed not only on the multitude, but even upon the Senate when he was introduced there. So that some credulous persons among them said openly ‘ it was extremely lucky that they had discovered the avarice and cruelty the Romans had exercised at Leontini. They would have done the same, if not worse, if they had entered Syracuse, where they would have met with greater temptations to be avaricious.’ Upon this they unanimously ordered their gates to be shut, and guards placed in the city. But they were not all intimidated alike, or hated the same persons. It was chiefly to the soldiers and the generality of the populace that the Romans were odious. The prætors and some of

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XXXII.



CHAP. of the chief men, though prepossessed by the false re-  
 XXXII. port, yet endeavoured to guard against a storm that  
 was nearer at hand and ready to burst on their heads. For by this time Hippocrates and Epicydes were come to Hexapylus. The relations of those who were in the army held conferences together, to open the gates and allow them to come in to defend their native city against the assaults of the Romans. One of the wickets of Hexapylus was already opened and they begun to enter, when the prætors interposed. They first deter'd them by commands and menaces, and then by exerting their authority. At last when they saw these made no impression, throwing aside their dignity they had recourse to prayers, conjuring them not to betray their native city to those who had formerly been the minions of their tyrants, and now were the corruptors of the army. But the furious multitude were deaf to all was said, and the gates were broke down with as much violence within as without. When they were all broke down the army entered with safety. The prætors with the youngest of the populace, fled for refuge to Achradina. The mercenaries, deserters, and such of the royal troops as were at Syracuse, made the enemy very numerous. In consequence Achradina was taken at the first assault and all the prætors killed, except such as escaped in the confusion. Night only put an end to the slaughter. Next day the slaves were made free and all prisoners set at liberty. This medley unanimously chose Hippocrates and Epicydes prætors, and thus Syracuse, which had enjoy'd the sun-shine of liberty for a short time, was plunged again into it's former slavery.

CHAP. THE Romans, upon advice of this revolution,  
 XXXIII. advanced from Leontini to Syracuse. Appius had  
 sent embassadors in by the harbor in a quinquereme preceded by a quadrireme. The latter had no sooner entered the mouth of the haven but she was taken and the deputies escaped with difficulty. Marcellus did not neglect to try to bring about a peace, before he proceeded to acts of hostility. Having encamped  
 within



within a mile and a half of the city, at the temple of Ju- CHAP.  
 piter Olympius, he resolved to send deputies to Syracuse. XXXIII.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, to prevent their entering the town, met them without the walls. The Roman deputies represented, ‘ that Marcellus did not come to make war on them, but to relieve and assist them, who, having escaped the slaughter, had taken refuge with him, and those, who being oppressed by fear, suffered a slavery, not only worse than exile, but worse than death. Neither would the Romans suffer the unheard of massacre of their allies to escape with impunity. He therefore would not have recourse to arms on condition that the refugees were suffered to return in safety to their native city ; the authors of the massacre given up, and Syracuse restored to the free enjoyment of her laws and liberty. But whoever should hinder the performance of these things he would make war upon with all his might.’ Epicydes replied, ‘ If you had brought any commission to us, we would have returned you an answer. Be gone, and when those, to whom you are sent, have the chief management of affairs in Syracuse, you may come back. If you are for war, you will find the siege of Syracuse a more difficult enterprize than that of Leontini.’ Thus the deputies took their leave, and he shut the gates. Then Marcellus began to invest Syracuse both by sea and land. At Hexapylus on the land side, and by sea at Achradina, whose wall is washed by the waves. As he had taken Leontini at the first assault, he did not despair of carrying this vast and large city at one place or another, and therefore approached it with all the machines used in sieges.

THE vigorous efforts made to carry the place CHAP.  
 had certainly succeeded, had they not been frustrated XXXIV.  
 by one man. This was the celebrated Archimedes. He was an excellent astronomer ; but a much better inventor and contriver of warlike machines, with which in an instant he destroy’d what had cost the enemy infinite labor to erect. As the walls of the town,



CHAP. town, which stood on different hills, were not of an  
xxxiv. equal height, but the greatest part very high and  
difficult of access, while some were so low, that people might approach them on plain ground, he prepared engines exactly to answer the situation of every place. Marcellus with his quinqueremes invested Achradina, whose walls, as we said before, were washed by the waves of the sea. In the other vessels he posted his archers and slingers, and even the light-armed troops, whose weapons were so awkward that they could not be thrown back by persons unacquainted with them. These scarcely suffered any one to stand on the wall without being wounded. As they needed room to throw their weapons, they kept at a distance from the wall. To the quinqueremes were made fast two other vessels<sup>a</sup>, from which the oars on the inner side were taken away, that they might be joined side to side. They were navigated like ships by the oars on the outsides and carry'd towers made of plank, and other machines for battering the walls. Against these batteries by sea Archimedes prepared engines of different magnitudes and placed them on the walls. Upon those vessels that were at a distance from the walls he discharged pieces of rocks of vast weight<sup>b</sup>. But against those that were nearer he discharged more frequent volleys of lighter weapons. At last, that his own men might annoy the enemy, and be under safe cover themselves, he made many loop-holes a cubit in height from the bottom to the top of the wall. Through these holes some, without being seen, let fly showers of arrows, while others ply'd the enemy briskly from small cross-bows. Against those vessels that came close up to the walls, that they might be within the enemy's shot, he contrived a kind of crow, projected above the wall, with an iron grapple fasten'd to a strong chain. This was let down upon the prow of a ship, and by means of the weight of a

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch and Polybius say eight quinqueremes were joined together, and formed what they call *Sambucæ*, from the resemblance to a musical instrument.  
<sup>b</sup> Some above 1200 weight.



heavy counterpoise of lead raised up the prow and set the vessel upright upon her poop : then letting it down all of a sudden, as if the vessel had fallen from the wall, to the great terror of the seamen, it sunk so far into the sea, that it let in a great deal of water, even when it fell directly down on it's keel. Thus all their attempts by sea being baffled, they drew off from that quarter in order to attack the place with all their force by land. But that part of the wall was likewise defended by all kinds of machines, which had been prepared by the care and at the expence of Hiero many years before, and all invented by Archimedes. This place was likewise strongly fortify'd by nature. For the walls were built on a rock, which in every part almost was so steep, that not only the weapons thrown from their machines, but whatever was tumbled, by it's own gravity struck the enemy with great violence. For the same reason it was difficult to approach it, and yielded very unsure footing when they did. Wherefore seeing all their endeavors frustrated, a council of war was called, in which it was resolved to attack the town no more, but shut up all the avenues of it by sea and land, to prevent supplies being thrown into it.

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IN the mean while Marcellus marched with one third of the army to reduce the towns, which, during the commotions, had gone over to the Carthaginian. Elorus and Erbesius surrendered to him voluntarily. Megara he took by storm, rifled and demolished, which greatly terrify'd the rest, but especially the Syracusans. About the same time Himilco, who had lain long with his fleet at cape Pachynum, landed 22000 foot, 3000 horse and 12 elephants at Heraclea of Minos<sup>a</sup>. He had not so many troops with him when he lay at Pachynum. But after Hippocrates and Epicydes had made themselves masters of Syracuse, he went to Carthage. Here being seconded by Hippocrates's deputies, and letters from Hannibal, representing that the time was now come to recover Sicily with the greatest honor, and being himself on

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XXXV.



CHAP. the spot and a good orator, he easily prevailed to  
 xxxv. have as many horse and foot sent into Sicily as they  
 could spare. Within a few days after his arrival at  
 Heraclea, he recovered Agrigentum. This made  
 all the other cities, which had sided with the Cartha-  
 ginians, entertain so great hopes of seeing the Ro-  
 mans driven out of Sicily; that at last those who were  
 besieged in Syracuse took courage. Thinking part  
 of their forces sufficient to defend their city, they di-  
 vided the command so, that Epicydes should defend  
 the city, and Hippocrates, after joining Himilco,  
 attack the Roman Consul. Accordingly the latter,  
 by favour of the night, marched out through the in-  
 tervals of the Roman lines, and encamped at Acrillæ<sup>c</sup>.  
 Marcellus, as he was returning from Agrigentum al-  
 ready in possession of the enemy, and whither he had  
 in vain marched with all expedition to prevent them,  
 surprized this detachment as they were pitching their  
 camp. He indeed little expected to meet an army  
 from Syracuse either at that time or place. How-  
 ever, for fear it had been Himilco with the Cartha-  
 ginian army, for whom the troops he had with him  
 were not a match, he marched out in order with the  
 greatest precaution, and prepared against all events.

CHAP. LUCKILY the precautions he had taken against  
 xxxvi. the Carthaginians, served him in good stead against  
 the Syracusans. Finding them in disorder and dis-  
 persed, pitching their camp, nay most of them un-  
 armed, he surrounded the infantry. The cavalry,  
 after a slight skirmish, fled with Hippocrates to Acræ<sup>d</sup>.  
 This victory gave a check to the Sicilians revolting  
 from the Romans. Marcellus returned to his lines  
 before Syracuse. Within a few days Himilco, hav-  
 ing been joined by Hippocrates encamped on the ri-  
 ver Anapus<sup>b</sup>, eight miles from Syracuse. At the  
 same time Bomilcar a Carthaginian admiral entered  
 the greatest port of Syracuse, with a fleet of fifty five  
 sail; and a Roman fleet of 35 quinqueremes landed

<sup>c</sup> To the south west of Syracuse. miles from Syracuse, between *Nota*  
<sup>d</sup> *Santa Maria d'Arcia*, twenty and *Avulz*. <sup>b</sup> Now called *Alfeo*.



the first legion at Panormus. Thus the war was diverted from Italy, so intent did both states seem upon making their most vigorous efforts in Sicily. The Roman legion that had been landed at Panormus, escaped Himilco, who looked upon them as a certain prey in their rout to Syracuse. The Carthaginian had taken the road cross the country. But the legion, keeping along the coast and supported by their fleet, arrived at Pachynum, where Appius went out with part of his troops to escorte them. The Carthaginians too did not stay long in Syracuse. For Bomilcar, not daring to risk his fleet, while the Romans had one double it's number, and perceiving that his stay could serve no other purpose but to promote the famine among their allies, set sail for Africa. Himilco in vain followed Marcellus to Syracuse, in hopes of finding an opportunity to fight him before he had joined the troops in his grand camp. But seeing himself disappointed, and the Roman safe within his lines and too strong to be attacked, he decamped, that he might not lose time by being an idle spectator of the siege of his allies, and in order to march wherever he had hopes of any people's revolting from the Romans, that by his presence he might encourage those who were promoting the Carthaginian interest. The first place he recovered was Murgantia, where the inhabitants betray'd the Roman garison. Here he found a great quantity of all kinds of provisions which had been laid up by the Romans.

THIS encouraged a great many others to revolt. So that on all sides the Roman garisons were either driven out of the cities they held, or surprized by the perfidy of the inhabitants. Enna, by being situated on an eminence which was very steep on all sides, was not to be taken by force; besides it had a strong garison commanded by an officer who could not easily be trap'd. L. Pinarius was a vigilant general, and depended more on it's not being possible to surprize him, than on the fidelity of the




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xxxvii.

Ennenses. The news of the revolt of so many cities, and the massacre of their garisons kept him continually on his guard. Therefore night and day he had every place well guarded and in good order, and his troops constantly under arms without stirring from their posts. When the leading men of Enna, who had already agreed with Himilco to betray the town, perceived that the Romans would not suffer them to get an opportunity of putting their perfidious scheme in execution, they resolved to do it openly. ‘ If, said they, we entered into an alliance with the Romans as freemen, and were not surrendered to them as slaves, we ought to be masters of our town and citadel. Therefore they thought it reasonable, that the keys of their gates should be restored to them. With true allies, fidelity was the surest bond of alliance. Nay the Roman people and senate would applaud them more, when they voluntarily adhered to her interests without being compelled to it.’ The Roman reply’d, ‘ I received a commission from my general to command the garison here. He likewise gave me the keys of your gates, and the guard of your citadel. Neither you nor I have the disposal of them at our pleasure, but he who committed them to my charge. To quit a garison is a capital crime with the Romans, by a law which our fathers have confirmed by shedding the blood of their free-born subjects. The consul Marcellus is not at a great distance. Send deputies to him, who alone has a right, and can at pleasure command me.’ They refused to send, and protested, if arguments could not prevail, they would seek some other means to recover their liberty. To this Pinarius answered, ‘ That since they thought it a trouble to send to the Consul, he hoped they would assemble the people, that he might know, whether this was the motion of a small number, or of the whole city.’ They agreed to this, and an assembly was appointed to meet next day.

W H E N this conference was over he retired into the



the citadel, where he harangued his troops. ‘ Fellow  
‘ soldiers, said he, I am sensible you have heard,   
‘ how the Roman garisons have been betray’d and  
‘ massacred of late by the Sicilians. Hitherto you  
‘ have escaped the same snares, in the first place by  
‘ the kindness of the Gods, and then by your own valor  
‘ and vigilance day and night. I wish it were possi-  
‘ ble for the future to pass our time without suffering  
‘ or committing some act of violence. The caution  
‘ we have hitherto used against secret machinations  
‘ must still be observed, because now they see they  
‘ don’t succede, they openly and loudly demand the  
‘ keys of their gates; and as soon as we deliver them  
‘ up, the Carthaginians will immediately be put in  
‘ possession of Enna. We shall then be massacred  
‘ in a more inhuman manner, than the garison of  
‘ Murgantia was. With difficulty I have obtained  
‘ the space of one night to deliberate, and inform you  
‘ of the imminent danger you are in. By day break  
‘ they are to call an assembly, to accuse me, and ex-  
‘ cite the people against you. To morrow therefore  
‘ the streets of Enna must run with your blood, or  
‘ the blood of it’s own inhabitants. If you suffer  
‘ them to be beforehand with you, you will lose all  
‘ you have; but if you prevent them you will run  
‘ no risque. They who first draw the sword, will  
‘ be conquerors. Be all ready therefore, and wait  
‘ under arms for the signal. I will be in the assem-  
‘ bly and protract the time by wrangling speeches,  
‘ till every thing is ready. When I give you the  
‘ signal with my robe, do you send up a shout and  
‘ fall on the multitude. Cut them all to pieces, and see  
‘ that none be spared, whose treachery and violence  
‘ we have reason to fear. And as we take this step  
‘ in order to avoid, not from a desire to commit a  
‘ treacherous action, we beseech thee, O Ceres, Pro-  
‘ serpine, and all the other celestial and infernal  
‘ deities, who inhabit this city, these sacred lakes  
‘ and groves, to be propitious and favorable to us.  
‘ Fellow soldiers, I would use more arguments with



‘ you, if you were to fight with men in arms. But  
 ‘ as they are unarmed and unprepared, you may  
 ‘ kill them at your pleasure. Besides, the consul is  
 ‘ encamped so near us, that we have nothing to ap-  
 ‘ prehend from Himilco, and the Carthaginians.’  
 When he had finished his speech, he dismissed them  
 to refresh themselves.

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XXXIX.

NEXT day some were posted to beset the ave-  
 nues, in order to prevent the people from escaping;  
 but the greatest number stood upon and round the  
 theatre without being suspected, as they were used  
 formerly to come and be spectators in the assemblies.  
 The magistrates presented the Roman governor to  
 the people. When he represented that he had no  
 power and authority, but the consul alone, to grant  
 their demands, and many other things, which he  
 had urged the day before, at first some, then more,  
 at last all the people with one voice demanded the  
 keys to be delivered up to them. As he hesitated  
 and delayed, they severely menaced him, and seem-  
 ed ready to offer him violence. Then the governor  
 gave the signal agreed on with his robe. His troops,  
 who had long been ready, and were carefully watch-  
 ing for it, set up a shout, and some ran down upon  
 the multitude assembled opposite to them, while  
 others in great bodies guarded the avenues to the the-  
 atre. Thus the Ennenses were slaughtered, pent up  
 in their assembly house. As many were stifled in en-  
 deavoring to escape as fell by the sword, as they  
 rushed over one another’s heads, and the whole and  
 wounded, the living and the dead, fell in heaps upon  
 one another. Then they broke into the streets, and  
 as if the town had been taken by storm, there was  
 nothing but flight and slaughter in every corner.  
 The fury of the soldiers was not the less, because the  
 multitude was unarmed, for they were as much en-  
 raged, and expressed as great ardor, as if they had  
 run all the risque and danger of a set battle. Thus  
 was Enna preserved in possession of the Romans, by  
 an action undoubtedly unjustifiable, unless it was com-  
 mitted



mitted in a necessary self-defence. Marcellus however did not disapprove the action, and granted the garison the plunder of the city, imagining by this he would deter and restrain the Sicilians from betraying the Roman garisons. But the fate of this city, situated in the middle of Sicily, celebrated for it's naturally strong fortifications, and every place in it accounted sacred in remembrance of Proserpine, who was formerly carried off from hence, spread all over the island in one day. And as the Sicilians imagined, that by this cruel massacre the Romans had not only violated the sacred rights of men, but impiously polluted the habitation of the Gods, they now wavered no longer as before, but went over to the Carthaginians. Then Hippocrates went back to Murgantia, and Himilco to Agrigentum, after a fruitless march to Enna, whither they had been invited by those who would have betrayed it to them. Marcellus returned to Leontini. After having conveyed corn and other provisions to his camp, and left a small garison in the place, he proceeded to his entrenchments before Syracuse. Here he sent Ap. Claudius to Rome to stand for the consulship, and in his room gave the command of the fleet and old camp to T. Quinctius Crispinus. He repaired and fortified Leon, about five miles from Hexapylus, for winter quarters to himself. Thus ended the campaign in Sicily.

THE same summer the war, which the Romans suspected they would have with king Philip, broke out. Deputies from Oricum<sup>a</sup> came to the prætor Valerius, who commanded a fleet at Brundisium, and along the coasts of Calabria, and informed him, that Philip had first gone up the river<sup>b</sup> with 120 biremes, and made an attempt upon Apollonia<sup>c</sup>. But as this enterprize did not succede according to his hopes, he had approached Oricum with his fleet in the night, and, as it was situated in a plain, and had

<sup>a</sup> Now *Val de Orso*. It was then a sea-port of *Epirus*.

<sup>b</sup> *Aous*.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. iii. p. 260. a. p. 444. c.



CHAP.

XL

neither troops nor arms to defend it, had taken it at the first assault. These deputies entreated the prætor to send them aid, that by sea and land they might repel this avowed enemy of the Romans, who had attacked them for no other reason, but because they lay commodious for his designs upon Italy. Valerius, leaving his lieutenant general, to protect the coast, set sail with his fleet ready for action, after having embarked on board the transports such of the troops as the men of war could not carry. He arrived at Oricum the second day after he set out. As Philip at his departure had left but a weak garison in the place, the prætor easily retook it. While he staid in it deputies came from the Apolloniates to inform him, that their city was besieged, because they would not revolt from the Romans; and that they were no longer in a condition to resist his arms, unless the Romans sent them a garison. He promised to do what they desired; and sent some men of war, with 2000 soldiers on board, to the mouth of the river, under the command of Q. Nævius Crista, an enterprizing and experienced officer. Crista landed the troops, and having ordered the ships to rejoin the fleet at Oricum, from whence they came, marched the soldiers at a distance from the river, by a way not guarded at all by the king's troops, and entered the city in the night without being perceived by the enemy. They remained quiet all the next day, while the Roman governor reviewed the youth of Apollonia, and examined what arms and forces they had in the place. The condition in which he found them on this examination, encouraged him sufficiently. At the same time his scouts informed him how secure and inactive the enemy were. In consequence he marched out of the city at the dead of night without any noise or confusion, and entered the enemy's camp, which was so carelessly guarded, that it is very certain, above 1000 men had entered before any one perceived it. Nay, could they have refrained from slaughter, they might have penetrated



to the king's tent. The slaughter of those next the gate roused the enemy, who were seized with such a terror and consternation, that not only none of them took arms, or attempted to drive the enemy out of their camp ; but even the king himself fled almost as he was when he waked to the river and his ships, in a condition which a crowned head ought to have been ashamed of. The whole army ran the same way in throngs. Near 3000 men were either killed or taken in the camp ; but the number of prisoners exceeded that of the slain. The camp was plundered. The balistas, catapultas, and other machines, that had been prepared to batter the town, were carried to Apollonia, with a design to use them for the defence of the walls in case they should ever be exposed to a like misfortune. All the rest of the plunder was abandoned to the Romans. When this news reached Oricum, M. Valerius sailed immediately to the mouth of the river with his fleet, to prevent the king's making his escape by the help of his ships. In consequence Philip, seeing he was not in a condition to face the Romans either by sea or land, after having drawn ashore part of his ships, and burnt the remainder, retired by land to Macedonia with his troops, most of whom had lost their arms and baggage. M. Valerius wintered with the Roman fleet at Oricum.

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XL.

DURING this year both sides in their turn were successful in Spain. Before the Romans could pass the Ebro, Mago and Asdrubal routed a great army of Spaniards. In effect of this all Hither Spain had revolted from the Romans, had not P. Scipio, by passing the Ebro in a hurry, come opportunely to confirm his allies that were wavering. The first place the Romans encamped at was the High Castle<sup>a</sup>, famous for the death of the great Hamilcar. It was strongly fortified, and they had made it a magazine. Yet, as all the circumjacent country was full of enemies, and their cavalry had frequently attacked the

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XLI.<sup>a</sup> *Guenza in New Castille.*



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XLI.

Roman army with impunity, by which Scipio lost 2000 men, most of whom were stragglers, or such as lag'd on the march, the Romans removed to places less infested, and encamped at mount Victoria<sup>b</sup>. Thither came Cn. Scipio with all his forces. A third Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, son of Gisgo, joined the other two there, which made their army complete, and they all three encamped on the banks of the Anas<sup>c</sup>, opposite to the Roman camp. P. Scipio marched out privately to reconnoitre the adjacent places; but was discovered by the enemy, who would have cut him off in the plains, if he had not been able to seize an eminence that was near. Even here he was invested, but was relieved by his brother. Castulo, a strong and famed city in Spain, and formerly so zealous in the Carthaginian interest, that Hannibal had married a native of it, now came over to the Romans. The Carthaginians invested Illiturgis, because it had a Roman garison. They hoped to reduce it at least by famine. Cn. Scipio, to succor his allies and the garison, broke through between the two Carthaginian camps with a single legion of light armed men, and after great slaughter of the enemy, threw himself into the town. Next he made a sally, and attacked them with equal success. In these two attacks he killed upwards of 12000 men, took more than 10000 prisoners, and 36 colors. Thus the enemy were forced to raise the siege. But they next sat down before Bigerra<sup>d</sup>, a city in alliance with the Romans. But on the approach of Scipio, they raised the siege without fighting.

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XLII.

THEN they decamped, and marched to Munda<sup>a</sup>, whither the Romans followed close at their heels. Here they came to a battle, which lasted four hours. But while the Romans were gallantly driving all before them, a retreat was founded, because

<sup>b</sup> A part of mount *Sierra Nevada*, in the kingdom of *Granada*.

<sup>d</sup> Near *Pequera*, in the east part of *New Castille*.

<sup>c</sup> Now the *Guadiana*, which rises in *New Castille*, and falls into the sea at *Ayamonte*.

<sup>a</sup> *Ronda la Vieja*, on the confines of *Andalusia*.



Cn. Scipio was wounded in the thigh with a dart. The soldiers crowded round him, under terrible apprehensions of the wound's proving mortal. Had not the Romans been prevented by this melancholy accident, they had certainly taken the Carthaginian camp that day. For they had not only driven the soldiers to their lines, but even the elephants, 39 of which were killed. In this battle it is said about 12000 men were slain, near 3000 taken, with 57 colors. Then the Carthaginian retired to Aurinx<sup>b</sup>, whither the Romans followed, not to give their terror time to abate. Here Scipio, carried in a litter, fought a second battle, and gained a complete victory. But not half the number of men were killed in this as were in the first, because not so many had survived it. But as this nation had a peculiar talent at renewing war, Mago, who was sent by his brother to make new levies, soon recruited the army, and inspired them with courage to try their fortune once more. But as they were mostly raw troops, and fought for a party that had been so often defeated within the space of a few days, they behaved in the same manner, and met with the same fate. Above 8000 of them were killed, and near 1000 taken prisoners. Among the spoil many things were found that belonged to the Gauls; great quantities of gold rings, chains and bracelets. Two likewise the most considerable of their petty princes, Mœnicaptus and Civismarus, lost their lives in the action. Eight elephants were taken, and three killed. As the Romans were so successful in Spain, they thought it shameful that Saguntum, the siege of which was the foundation of the war, should have remained eight years in the enemy's possession. They therefore drove out the Carthaginian garison, retook the city, and restored it to as many of the old inhabitants as had escaped the sword. The Turdetani, who by joining the Carthaginians, had drawn the war upon the Saguntines, they reduced, sold them by auction, and razed their city. THESE

<sup>b</sup> It stood in *Bætica*, but in what part can't be ascertained.



**CHAP. XLIII.** THESE victories were gained in Spain during the consulate of Q. Fabius and M. Claudius. As soon as the new tribunes of the people had entered upon their office at Rome, one of them, L. Metellus, indicted the censors, P. Furius, and M. Atilius. They had, when he was quæstor the year before, taken his horse from him, degraded him from his tribe, and left him nothing more belonging to a citizen, than paying taxes, because he had been one of them who conspired to abandon Italy after the battle of Cannæ. But the bill was thrown out by the interposition of his nine colleagues, who would not suffer the censors to be prosecuted while they were in office. The death of P. Furius prevented the lustrum from being finished, and M. Atilius abdicated the censorship. Then Q. Fabius Maximus held the comitia for the election of consuls. Q. Fabius Maximus, son of the consul, and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, a second time, were both chosen in their absence. M. Atilius, and the present curule ædiles, P. Semp. Tuditanus, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, and M. Æmil. Lepidus, were chosen prætors. It is recorded that plays were first exhibited for four days by the curule ædiles at that time. The ædile Tuditanus was he, who, while the rest were stupified with fear at Cannæ, forced a way through the enemy. When Fabius had finished the elections, the consuls elect were called to Rome, where they entered upon their office. Then they consulted the senate about the operations of the campaign, the provinces of the prætors, and what armies each general was to command.

**CHAP. XLIV.** THE provinces and armies were disposed of in the following manner. The consuls were to act against Hannibal, one with the army which Sempronius had commanded before, the other with that which Fabius had. Each of them consisted of two legions. The prætor M. Æmilius, whose lot it was to have the jurisdiction of foreigners, having committed his jurisdiction to his colleague M. Atilius, city prætor, had Luceria for his province, with the two legions which

Q. Fabius  
Maximus,  
Ti. Semp.  
Gracchus,  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 539.  
B. J. C. 213.



which the present consul Q. Fabius had commanded CHAP.  
 when he was prætor. Sempronius had Arimini, and XLIV.  
 Cn. Fulvius, Sueffula, with two legions apiece. Tu-  
 ditanus was to receive two from Pomponius, and  
 Fulvius was to lead out the city legions. Then se-  
 veral officers were continued in their commands and  
 provinces. Marcellus in Sicily, within the extent of  
 Hiero's dominions. Lentulus in his old province,  
 and T. Otacilius with the fleet, without any additi-  
 onal troops. M. Valerius, in Greece and Macedon,  
 with the legion and fleet he had. Q. Mucius with  
 the two old legions he had in Sardinia. C. Terentius  
 at Picenum with the legion he commanded. Besides  
 two new city legions were ordered to be levied, and  
 20000 allies. These were the generals, and these  
 the forces which they provided for the defence of the  
 Roman empire in many wars already on foot, and  
 several they soon expected to break out. The con-  
 suls having levied the two new city legions, and sup-  
 plies for other places, expiated the prodigies that  
 were reported, before they left Rome. Lightning  
 had fallen on one of the city walls and gates, and on  
 the temple of Jupiter at Aricia. Many other idle  
 things, that people fancied they saw and heard, were  
 believed for truth. In the river Tarracina the people  
 thought they saw a great number of galleys, which  
 was a mere *deceptio visus*, and the clashing of arms  
 in the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus, which stands in  
 the territory of Compsa. The river of Amiternum<sup>a</sup>  
 ran with blood. After these were expiated accord-  
 ing to the direction of the pontiffs, the consuls set  
 out for their provinces, Sempronius for Lucania, and  
 Fabius for Apulia. Old Fabius went to the camp at  
 Sueffula to serve as lieutenant general under his son.  
 When the consul went out to meet him, the lictors,  
 who walked before out of respect to his authority,  
 suffered the father to pass them without speaking.  
 He had already rode past eleven of them, when the  
 consul, chiding the twelfth, ordered him to call out,

<sup>a</sup> In the *Further Abruzzo*, near *St. Vittorino*.



*dismount.* He obey'd, saying, ' I was willing, son,  
' to try whether you was sufficiently sensible of your  
' being consul.'

## CHAP.

XLV.

IN this camp Dasius Altinius the Arpinian came  
in the night attended only by three slaves, promising  
to betray Arpi for a reward proportioned to the ser-  
vice. Fabius having laid the affair before a council  
of war, some were of opinion, ' that this villain  
' should be whip'd with rods, and then put to death;  
' his mind was continually fluctuating, and he was al-  
' ternately an enemy to both parties. After the battle of  
' Cannæ, as if it had been a just rule to change with  
' fortune, he went over to the Carthaginian, and  
' drew Arpi into his revolt. Now seeing, con-  
' trary to his expectation and wishes, the Roman  
' affairs retrieved, he seemed to offer a new and  
' baser treachery to those, whom he had betray'd  
' before. Such a treacherous ally, such a contempt-  
' ible enemy, who always openly espoused one party,  
' while his heart was with the other, should be made  
' an example of, and added as a third to that of the  
' schoolmaster of Falerii<sup>a</sup>, and the villain who would  
' have betrayed Pyrrhus<sup>b</sup>.' Fabius, the consul's fa-  
ther, was of a contrary opinion. ' You forget the  
' times, said he, and in the heat of war give your  
' opinions of every person as if we enjoyed an undi-  
' sturbed tranquillity. The principal aim of all our  
' deliberations, of all our actions, ought to be, by  
' all possible means, to prevent the allies of the Ro-  
' man people from falling off, and wavering, some-  
' times espousing one side, sometimes another. But  
' we ought not to declare it is necessary to make an  
' example of him who repents, and returns to his  
' former alliance. Can any one doubt, if people  
' may desert the Romans, and not have liberty to  
' come over to them again, but it will soon be seen  
' Rome will be abandoned by her allies, and all Ita-  
' ly enter into an alliance with the Carthaginian. Yet  
' he was not for reposing any confidence in Altinius,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.



‘ but for taking the medium in the affair. Without  
 ‘ considering him at present as an enemy or friend,  
 ‘ it would be best to keep him in an easy confinement

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‘ in some faithful city not far from the camp, till the  
 ‘ end of the war. Then we may consider whether  
 ‘ he rather deserves to be punished for his former re-  
 ‘ volt, or pardoned for his present return.’ This ad-  
 vice of Fabius was followed. Altinius and his train  
 were put in irons, and a great sum of gold which he  
 had brought with him, ordered to be kept for him.  
 During the day he walked abroad at Cale under a  
 guard, but was locked up at night. As soon as he  
 was missed from his house at Arpi, diligent search  
 was made for him. When the rumor of his absence  
 was spread abroad, it occasioned as great an alarm  
 among the citizens, as if they had lost their head,  
 and the apprehension of a revolution made them im-  
 mediately send couriers to inform Hannibal of what  
 had happened. The Carthaginian was in no man-  
 ner of pain at the news. He had long considered  
 Altinius as a man in whom he could place no confi-  
 dence, and was glad he had found a pretext to seize  
 his riches, which were very great. But to make the  
 world believe he acted rather from the motive of re-  
 venge than avarice, he exercised the severest cruelties  
 upon his family. He sent for his wife and children  
 to his camp, where having examined them first a-  
 bout Altinius’s flight, and then what gold and silver  
 he had left in his house, as soon as he was sufficient-  
 ly informed of every thing, he burnt them alive.

FABIUS having dislodged from Sueffula, resolv-  
 ed to open the campaign with the siege of Arpi.  
 Having sat down within five hundred paces of the  
 place, and taken a near view of it’s situation and walls,  
 he determined to attack it on the strongest side which  
 was least guarded. After he had got ready every  
 thing necessary for the attack, he chose out the flow-  
 er of his centurions, and placed the bravest of the  
 legionary tribunes at their head. Under them he  
 sent a detachment of 600 men, which he deemed  
 suffi-

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XLVI.

sufficient for the enterprize. He ordered them to scale that place, as soon as the trumpet sounded the fourth watch. In that place there was a low and narrow gate, entering into a street that was little frequented, as that part of the city was uninhabited. He ordered them, after having scaled this gate to advance to the wall, burst open the bars by violence, and as soon as they had got possession of that quarter of the town, to blow the trumpet as a signal for the rest of the army to approach. These orders were diligently executed, and what one would have thought would have proved the greatest obstacle to them, was what mostly furthered their enterprize, as it kept them from being discovered. A shower which fell at midnight obliged the guards and sentinels to quit their posts and take shelter in their houses; besides the rattling of the storm which increased hindered the inhabitants from hearing them who were breaking down the gate. At last it made such a humming noise in their ears, when it grew more moderate, that it lulled the greatest part of them to sleep. When the detachment had once got possession of the gate, they ordered the trumpets, which they had placed at equal distances on the roads, to sound in order to rouse the consul. The signal agreed upon was no sooner given, than Fabius ordered his troops to advance, and a little before day break entered the town at the gate that was broken down.

CHAP.

XLVII.

THE enemy waked then as the rain had ceased and day approached. Hannibal's garison consisted of near 5000 men, and the Arpini had armed 3000 of their youth. These the Carthaginians posted in the front, for fear they should treacherously attack their rear. The battle began in the dark and in the narrow streets. The Romans had seized not only the avenues, but also the houses adjoining to the gate, that they might not be attacked or wounded from above. Then some Arpini and Romans who were acquainted, entered into a conference. The latter asked the former, 'What they proposed? For



‘ what injury done them by the Romans, or favors received of the Carthaginian, they who were Italians could, in favor of foreigners and barbarians, make war on their ancient allies the Romans, and make Italy a province tributary to Africa?’ The Arpini replied in their defence, ‘ that without being let into the secret at all, they had been sold to the Carthaginian by their principal men, that they had been entrap’d and oppress’d by a few.’ When these conferences were once began, they spread, till at last the Arpini brought their prætor to the consul, who having promised them forgiveness and protection in sight of the two armies, they turned their arms against the Carthaginians. About 1000 Spaniards likewise came over to the consul, without having demanded more than that the Carthaginian garison should be dismissed without treachery. The gates were opened to them, and being, according to agreement, dismissed without the least violence, they went to Hannibal at Salapia. Thus Arpi returned to it’s obedience to the Romans without the loss of any of it’s inhabitants, except of him who had formerly betray’d and lately deserted them. The Spaniards were ordered to have double allowance, and by their bravery and fidelity continued long to do the republic good service. While one of the consuls was in Apulia and the other in Lucania, 112 of the chief men of Capua, having, under pretext of ravaging their enemies lands, obtained the magistrates permission to go out of the city, came to the Roman camp above Sueffula. They told the advanced guard that they desired a conference with the prætor. Cn. Fulvius commanded that camp. When he was informed of it, he ordered ten of them to be admitted to him without arms. When they made known their desires, which extended to no more, than that they should be restored to their estates, when their city should be reduced to the obedience of the Romans, he received them all under his protection. The other prætor Sempronius Tuditanus took Aternum by assault, and  
in



in it above 7000 prisoners and some silver and brass money. A violent fire broke out at Rome, and burnt with irresistible fury for two nights and a day. It levelled with the ground all the buildings, the salt-pits and the gate Carmentalis, with the street called Jugarius and the Æquimelum. It consumed the temples of Fortune, Matuta, and Hope, without the gate, and spreading far and wide made great havoc among both sacred and profane edifices.

**CHAP.** THE same year, P. and Cn. Cornelii, encouraged  
**XLVIII.** by their great success in Spain, where they had recovered the ancient allies and added new ones, extended their views to Africa. Syphax, then king of a great part of Numidia<sup>a</sup>, on a sudden declared against the Carthaginians. They sent three centurions with full powers to conclude a treaty of alliance with him, and to assure him that if he persisted in prosecuting the war against the Carthaginians, he would do an acceptable piece of service to the Roman senate and people, and they would take care, that hereafter it should be returned manifold. The barbarian prince received the embassy with great joy, and entered into a conference with the deputies about a plan of the operations of the war. When he heard the opinion of those old experienced officers, and compared their exact discipline with his own, it convinced him that he was very ignorant in many respects. Then he demanded of them, as the first testimony of their being true and faithful allies, ‘ that  
 ‘ only two of them should return to give an account of  
 ‘ their embassy to their generals, and the third stay  
 ‘ with him to form his troops to discipline. For though  
 ‘ his Numidians were dexterous at managing horses,  
 ‘ yet they knew nothing of the art of fighting on foot.  
 ‘ From the first origin of their nation, his ancestors  
 ‘ had never made war but on horse-back, to which  
 ‘ his subjects were trained from their infancy. But  
 ‘ he had an enemy who rely’d much on his foot. He

<sup>a</sup> That part possessed by the *Masæ-* *tania*, now the western part of *Al-*  
*lylians* who inhabited a part of *Mauri-* *giers*, and it's capital called *Tenez*.



‘ had a strong desire to equal him in respect to that CHAP.  
 ‘ kind of force, and match him in infantry. He XLVIII.  
 ‘ had men in abundance in his kingdom for that  
 ‘ purpose; but he did not understand the art of giving  
 ‘ them proper arms, making them keep their ranks,  
 ‘ and drawing them up in order of battle. For my  
 ‘ infantry, like a rabble assembled by chance, are  
 ‘ an unwieldy, ungovernable body.’ The deputies  
 reply’d, ‘ that at present they would comply with  
 ‘ his desires, if he would solemnly promise to send  
 ‘ him back immediately, if their generals should not  
 ‘ approve of what they did.’ The officer who staid  
 with the king was named Statorius. The two others  
 returned to give an account of their embassy. The  
 Numidian sent ambassadors into Spain to receive the  
 engagements of the Roman generals. At the same  
 time he ordered them to make the Numidians, who  
 were in the Carthaginian garisons, to pass over imme-  
 diately to the Romans. Statorius formed a body of  
 infantry, out of vast numbers of youth the king had.  
 When he had divided them into companies after the  
 Roman manner, he taught them to follow their co-  
 lors in drawing up in battle array, and in filing off,  
 and to keep their ranks. He inured them so well to  
 fatigue and all other duties of military discipline, that  
 the king soon rely’d as much on his infantry as on  
 his cavalry, and even defeated the Carthaginians in a  
 set battle which he fought with them on fair ground.  
 The arrival of the Numidian ambassadors in Spain  
 turned greatly to the advantage of the Romans. For  
 on the first rumor of it, the Numidians begun to  
 desert them in frequent bodies. Thus did the Ro-  
 mans make an alliance with Syphax. As soon as  
 the Carthaginians were informed of it, they sent em-  
 bassadors to Gala, king of another part of Numidia  
 inhabited by the Masylans<sup>b</sup>.

G A L A had a son, named Masinissa, only 17 CHAP.  
 years of age, but possessed of such rare qualities, that XLIX.  
 even then it appeared, he would leave his defendents

<sup>b</sup> On the eastern parts of *Numidia*, bordering upon *Africa Propria*.



CHAP.  
XLIX.

a kingdom more opulent and of greater extent, than he should receive from his ancestors. The ambassadors represented, ' that Syphax had joined the Romans, with a view to strengthen himself against the other kings and states of Afric by their alliance. ' It was therefore Gala's interest as soon as possible to join the Carthaginians, before Syphax could go over into Spain, or the Romans into Africa. Syphax might be crushed, as he had hitherto only the name of an ally to the Romans.' Gala was easily persuaded. His son earnestly beg'd to be sent at the head of the army to that war, and having joined the Carthaginians, he routed Syphax in a great battle. It is said 30000 men were left dead on the spot. Syphax escaped with a small body of horse into the country of the Moors, in the extremity of Africa along the ocean opposite to Cadiz. As numbers of the Barbarians, on the report of his being there, flocked to him, he soon had a powerful army. But before he could transport it over the Straights ' lying between that and Spain, Masinissa came up with his victorious army. Here solely with his own forces, without any aid from the Carthaginians, he prosecuted the war against Syphax, in which he acquired great reputation. Nothing memorable happened in Spain, except that the Celtiberian youth came over to the Roman generals on condition that they should receive the same pay they had from the Carthaginians; and that they sent 300 Spaniards of distinction into Italy, to draw off those of their nation that served under Hannibal. The most memorable incident of that year with regard to Spain is, that the Romans never before had any mercenaries in their service, till the Celtiberians at that time.

*c Of Gibraltar.*



## BOOK XXV.

*P. Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, chosen ædile before qualify'd by age. Hannibal takes the city of Tarentum all except the citadel, by means of some young Tarentines who pretend they were going a hunting in the night. The games called Ludi Apollinares instituted according to the directions in the prophecies of Marcius, who foretold the defeat at Cannæ. Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, the consuls, defeat Hanno a Carthaginian general. Ti. Semp. Gracchus the pro-consul, betray'd by his host a Lucanian and killed by Mago. Centenius Penula, a centurion, asks the command of an army from the senate, promising, in case he obtained it, to defeat Hannibal. He receives the command of 8000 men, engages Hannibal, and is cut off with the greatest part of his army. The prætor Cn. Fulvius defeated by Hannibal, loses 6000 men and escapes with a small number of horse. Capua besieged by the consuls Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius. Cl. Marcellus takes Syracuse in the third year after he had invested it. Gives great proofs of his abilities. In the confusion at taking the town Archimedes is killed while he is intent on drawing mathematical figures in sand. The melancholy fate of P. and Cn. Scipio after the many and important victories they had gained. In the 8th year after their coming into Spain, they are cut off with all their forces. Spain preserved by the bravery and activity of L. Marcius a Roman knight, who assembling the remains of the army, exhorts his troops, takes two of the enemy's camps, kills 37000 and takes 1830 prisoners with a vast booty. Is declared general.*

**D**URING these transactions in Africa and Spain, CHAP. I.  
Hannibal spent the summer in the territories of Tarentum, in hopes of having that city betrayed to him. In the mean time some inconsiderable towns belonging to the Tarentines and the Sallentines<sup>a</sup> revolted to him. At the same time the people of Consentia<sup>b</sup> and Terina<sup>c</sup>, two of the twelve cantons of Bruttium, which had revolted to Hannibal the preceding year, returned to their obedience to the Romans. More of them had followed their example, had not L. Pomponius a Veientine, and præfect of the allies, flushed with his success in some incursions he made for plunder upon the lands of the Bruttians,

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii. p. 189, 259.

now called *Nocera*, in the extremity of *Hither Calabria*.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. p. 343. *a*.

<sup>c</sup> See Dujatius on the place. It is



CHAP. I. looked upon himself as a consummate general, and gathering together a tumultuous army, given Hanno battle. A great number of this undisciplined rabble, which consisted of peasants and slaves, were either killed or taken. The least loss sustained on this occasion, was that of the præfect's being taken among the rest. He was the author of this unadvised battle, had formerly been a tax-farmer, and had cheated and wronged both the public and his associates by every unjust method. The consul Sempronius had several slight encounters, scarce worth mentioning, in Lucania, and took several inconsiderable towns. The length of the war, and the alternately prosperous and adverse events, produced a great change not only in the fortune but minds of men ; so that so superstitious a zeal for religion, more especially for foreign rites, seized the whole members of the state, that it seemed as if a new set of Gods had arisen, on a sudden, or a new species of men started into being ; the Roman rites were now abolished not only in secret and within doors, but even in public, in the forum and in the capitol, where crowds of women offered up sacrifices and prayers, very different from their ancient forms of worship. The people's minds were filled with superstition by diviners and despicable priests ; whose number were increased by the peasants that were driven by poverty and fear from the country, where their lands had lain uncultivated during the continuance of the war, for shelter in the city ; and likewise by the easy gain that accrued to them from the blindness and credulity of others ; so that they practised this art as if it had been authorised by sacred custom. The senate severely reprimanded the ædiles and triumviri capitales for not checking these innovations. But these officers had like to have been abused, when they attempted to remove the multitude and throw down their sacred apparatus. When the evil was seen to rise to such an excess, that the inferior magistrates could not quash it, the senate ordered the prætor M. Atilius, to reclaim the people from these superstitious



stitious practices. He in an assembly of the people read the act of senate, and published an edict, which commanded all persons, ‘ who had any books of divination or prayers, or containing instructions about the rites of sacrifices, to bring all these books and writings to him before the first of April; and prohibited all persons to offer sacrifice in public, or in any sacred place, according to any new or foreign ceremonies.’

SOME of the public priests died this year; L. CHAP. Corn. Lentulus, the pontifex maximus, C. Papirius Maso, son of Caius, a pontif, P. Fur. Philus an augur, and C. Papirius Maso, son of Lucius, who was a decemvir, that had the custody of the sacred books. In Lentulus’s room was chosen, M. Corn. Cethegus; in Papirius’s, Cn. Servilius Cæpio. L. Quintius Flaminius was elected augur, as L. Cornel. Lentulus was decemvir for keeping the sacred books. The time for the elections drew on; but because it was not thought proper to recal the consuls engaged abroad in the war, Sempronius nominated C. Claudius Centho dictator to hold the comitia. The dictator chose Q. Fulv. Flaccus general of horse, and on the first day of election, the general of horse and Ap. Claudius Pulcher, who had been prætor in Sicily, were elected consuls. Then Cn. Fulvius, C. Claud. Nero, M. Jun. Silanus, and P. Cornelius Sylla, were chosen prætors. When the comitia were ended the dictator abdicated his office. P. Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, and M. Corn. Cethegus were chosen curule ædiles this year. When Scipio presented himself as a candidate, the plebeian tribunes opposed him, insisting no regard should be shewn to him, because he was not legally qualified by age<sup>a</sup>. But he reply’d, ‘ I am old enough, if all the Romans are willing to chuse me ædile.’ Immediately the tribes gave him their suffrages with so much zeal, that the tribunes drop’d their opposition all of a sudden. The ædiles returned the favor in the following manner.

C. Claudius Centho dictator, Q. F. Flaccus general of horse.

<sup>a</sup> The legal age was 27, and he was but 21 or 22 years old.



CHAP. II. They celebrated the Roman games with as much magnificence, as the poverty of the times would allow, continued them one day longer than ordinary, and distributed a congius<sup>b</sup> of oil to every street. L. Villius Tappulus and M. F. Fundulus were plebeian ædiles, and prosecuted some ladies before the people for incontinence. Some of them were found guilty and banished. The plebeian games were celebrated for two days, on which occasion a festival was kept in honor of Jupiter.

CHAP. III. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS consul a third time and Ap. Claudius Pulcher, entered upon office. The prætors cast lots for their provinces. P. Corn. Sylla had the jurisdiction over citizens and foreigners, which had hitherto been vested in two separate magistrates. C. Fulv. Flaccus got Apulia, Nero, Suesfula, and Silanus, Hetruria. The consuls were appointed to act against Hannibal, with the two armies, one to be received from Q. Fabius consul of the preceding year, and the other from Fulvius Centumalus. The prætor Fulv. Flaccus had the troops in Luceria that were commanded by Æmilius, and Nero, those in Picenum commanded by Varro, and they were to recruit them themselves. M. Junius had the two legions that were in the city the year before to act in Hetruria. Ti. Gracchus was continued in his command and province of Lucania, and P. Tuditanus of Gaul, with their respective troops. P. Lentulus in his old province of Sicily, Marcellus at Syracuse and within the bounds of Hiero's kingdom; T. Otacilius with the fleet; M. Valerius in Greece; Q. Mucius in Sardinia; P. and Cn. Scipio, in Spain. When the consuls had levied and added to the list the two new city legions, the number of standing forces this year amounted to 23 legions. A villainous action of M. Posthumius a native of Pyrgi<sup>a</sup>, which almost occasioned an insurrection, hindered the consuls from making the levies. Posthumius was a tax-farmer,

<sup>b</sup> Five pounds fourteen ounces.

<sup>a</sup> Near *Santa Severa*, in the patrimony of St. Peter.



who during many years had not his fellow in all the city for fraud and avarice, except L. Pomponius the Veientine, who, as he was ravaging the Lucanian territories without precaution, had fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians under Hanno. A principal condition of the contract for supplying the army, was that the contractors should be indemnify'd by the public in case of losses by violent storms. These contractors took advantage of this. They placed to the public's account many shipwrecks that had never happened, and the true ones they gave in had been occasioned by their own fraud, and not by an unlucky accident. They ship'd small quantities of goods of little value on board old shattered vessels, which they sunk after they had brought off the crews in skiffs ready prepared for that purpose, and then falsely pretended the cargoes had been very considerable. The prætor M. Atilius had been informed of this fraud, and laid the affair before the senate the preceding year. But as the fathers did not care to break with the contractors in so critical a conjuncture, no act of senate had passed against them. But the people revenged the fraud with more severity. For at length two plebeian tribunes, Sp. and L. Carvilius, were so enraged at this hateful and infamous roguery, that they indicted Posthumius in the sum of 200000<sup>b</sup> asses of brass, to be paid to the public. When the day of trial came, the defendant pleaded his cause before so numerous an assembly, that the area of the capitol was scarce sufficient to contain the multitude. But with so little success, that the only thing he had to rely on was, that C. Servilius Casca, one of the tribunes and his near relation, would protest against the proceedings of his colleagues, before the tribes should be called to vote. After the witnesses had been examined the tribunes removed the multitude, and the urn was brought, in order that the lots might be drawn, to know in what tribe the Latins should vote<sup>c</sup>. In the

<sup>b</sup> 645l. 16 s. 8 d. Arbuth.<sup>c</sup> Some scholiasts read this passagewith *tribus* instead of *Latini*, viz.

which tribe should vote first. But in



CHAP. III. the mean time the publicans pressed Casca to interpose and put off the assembly to another day. But the people were extremely loud in their clamors. Casca by accident was seated in the front of one corner of the assembly, and was exceedingly perplexed through shame and fear of the people. Despairing of protection from him, a troop of publicans, in order to raise a tumult broke in at the space which had been left void by the withdrawing of the multitude, insulting both the people and their tribunes. And they were just ready to come to blows, when the consul Fulvius said to the tribunes, ‘ Don’t you see, how  
 ‘ your authority is despised, and that if you do not  
 ‘ dissolve the assembly, the affair will end in sedi-  
 ‘ tion?’

CHAP. IV. WHEN the people were dismissed, the senate was assembled, and the consuls made a report to the fathers of the tumult raised in the assembly of the people, and the insolence and outrage of the publicans. They observed that ‘ M. Furius Camillus,  
 ‘ whose banishment had occasioned the ruin of the  
 ‘ city, had suffered himself to be condemn’d by the  
 ‘ people when provoked. Before him the decemvirs,  
 ‘ by whose laws they were still governed, and after-  
 ‘ wards many principal men of the state, had not re-  
 ‘ sisted the judgment of the people. But Posthumius,  
 ‘ a burgher of Pyrgi, had forcibly wrested the right  
 ‘ of suffrage from the people, suppressed their assem-  
 ‘ blies, trampled under foot the authority of their  
 ‘ magistrates, and attacked the people with a rou-  
 ‘ form’d in order of battle, in order to keep the tri-  
 ‘ bunes from the commons, and hinder the tribunes  
 ‘ from voting. Nothing could have prevented blow  
 ‘ but the patience of the magistrates, who for the time  
 ‘ gave way to the rage and insolence of a small num-  
 ‘ ber of despicable wretches; and suffered themselves  
 ‘ and the Roman people to be worsted in the struggle  
 ‘ and voluntarily dissolved the comitia, which th

so interesting a cause might not many solicited to vote, whose tribes in  
 Latins come to Rome, and been first have been ascertained?

‘ crimina



‘ criminals would have dispersed by violence and CHAP.  
 ‘ slaughter, that they might not furnish them with IV.  
 ‘ matter of quarrel, which was what they sought.’

When the persons of greatest consideration and honesty had testify'd their abhorrence of so atrocious a crime, and the senate by decree had declared, that the riotous conduct of the publicans was a treasonable attempt against the state, and of pernicious example, the Carvili immediately changed the nature of the process, and instead of a mulct, laid an indictment against Posthumius for a capital crime, ordering him to be apprehended by an officer and drag'd to prison, if he could not give sufficient bail. The criminal gave security, but disappeared. Upon this the tribunes made a motion to the people, which they agreed to: ‘ That if M. Posthumius did not appear before  
 ‘ the first of May, and having been cited, should  
 ‘ neither answer to the indictment, nor any one  
 ‘ person for him shew good cause why, he should  
 ‘ be deemed a banished person, his effects confiscated,  
 ‘ and water and fire prohibited him.’ Then they proceeded to find bills and demand sureties of every person who had been concern'd in raising the riot. At first only those who could give no security were imprisoned, but at last even those who did shared the same fate. Most of them, to avoid this danger, went voluntarily into banishment.

SUCH was the issue of the frauds of the publicans, CHAP.  
 and the fate of the insolence of those who protected V.  
 such villains. An assembly was afterwards held for the election of a pontifex maximus. The new pontif, M. Corn. Cethegus, presided at the election. Three candidates stood for the office, the consul Q. Fulv. Flaccus, who had been twice consul, and censor, before; T. Manlius Torquatus, who had also been twice consul and censor, and P. Licinius Crassus, who was on the point of standing for the curule ædileship. This young man carried it against his competitors, though venerable for their age and the honorable offices they had born. During 120 years before



CHAP. before him, no person, except P. Cornel. Caluffa,  
 v. had been raised to the supreme pontificate without  
 having first exercised the curule offices. The consuls  
 finding great difficulties in making the levies, as by  
 reason of there not being sufficient numbers of youth,  
 it was not easy to raise two new legions for the city,  
 and to recruit the old ones, the senate ordered them  
 to quit that piece of duty. At the same time they  
 ordered ‘ a double triumvirate to be commissioned to  
 ‘ go round, one of them within 50 miles of Rome,  
 ‘ the other beyond that distance, to all petty boroughs,  
 ‘ and see what youth of free condition were in them.  
 ‘ They were ordered to list all they should find strong  
 ‘ enough to bear arms, though not of the common  
 ‘ age to be soldiers. The tribunes were also desired,  
 ‘ if they thought proper, to make a motion to the  
 ‘ people, that whoever under the age of 17 years  
 ‘ should list, should, from the day of their being at-  
 ‘ tested, have their campaigns reckoned to them, as  
 ‘ if they had been upwards of the age required by  
 ‘ law.’ In consequence of this decree of senate,  
 these triumvirates were appointed, and made levies  
 through the country. Marcellus’s letters from Sicily,  
 concerning the petition of Lentulus’s troops, were  
 read in the senate. They were the remains of the  
 army that had been at Cannæ, and which had been  
 sent into Sicily, as has been mentioned before, from  
 whence they were not to return till the end of the Pu-  
 nic war.

CHAP. LENTULUS had given them permission to  
 vi. send a deputation to Marcellus, in his winter quar-  
 ters, consisting of the principal officers of the horse,  
 and flower of the foot. He whom they had appoint-  
 ed to be their spokesman, addressed the proconsul  
 thus. ‘ We should have applied to you, Marcellus,  
 ‘ in Italy during your consulate, as soon as the severe,  
 ‘ though just decree of the senate was passed against  
 ‘ us, if we had not expected to be sent into a pro-  
 ‘ vince up in arms by the death of two kings, there  
 ‘ to maintain a grievous war against the Sicilians and  
 ‘ Carthaginians



‘ Carthaginians at the same time, and make amends  
‘ to our country by our blood and wounds. In this  
‘ manner, in the days of our fathers, did those whom  
‘ Pyrrhus took prisoners at Heraclea, make an atone-  
‘ ment for their defeat, by fighting bravely against  
‘ that prince. And yet what have we done to de-  
‘ serve your past and present indignation, O con-  
‘ script fathers? For, Marcellus, when I am in your  
‘ presence, methinks I see both the consuls and se-  
‘ nate united in your illustrious person. Had you  
‘ been the consul to command us at Cannæ, both the  
‘ commonwealth and we had met a happier fate.  
‘ Permit us, we beseech you, before we complain  
‘ of our melancholy situation, to apologize for the  
‘ crime we are accused of. If our defeat at Cannæ  
‘ is not to be imputed to incensed Gods, and the de-  
‘ crees of fate, which determine all human events by  
‘ immutable laws, but to a fault committed by men,  
‘ what person can justly be charged with this fault?  
‘ The troops, or the generals? We who are subal-  
‘ terns shall not accuse our general, especially since  
‘ we know the senate has returned him thanks for  
‘ not despairing of the preservation of the state, and  
‘ have continued him in command during all the  
‘ years that have intervened since his flight from  
‘ Cannæ. And since we have heard, that the rest  
‘ of the legionary tribunes who commanded us in  
‘ that battle, sue for offices, exercise them, and even  
‘ obtain provinces, can ye, conscript fathers, so ea-  
‘ sily pardon yourselves and your children, and yet  
‘ wreak your vengeance in so terrible a manner on  
‘ our heads, and stigmatize us as vile wretches?  
‘ When there remained no other hopes of safety, it  
‘ was no disgrace for a consul, and the principal men  
‘ of the state, to save themselves by flight; but you  
‘ sent private soldiers to battle to die without any re-  
‘ medy. Not to mention other shameful defeats of  
‘ our armies, our whole army fled at Allia, another  
‘ delivered up their arms at the forks of Caudium  
‘ without striking one blow. However they were  
‘ so



## CHAP.

## VI.



so far from having any mark of ignominy stamp  
 upon them, that the city of Rome was regained by  
 those very troops which had fled from Allia to Veii;  
 and those which had returned from Caudium with-  
 out arms, were sent back into Samnium armed;  
 and made those very enemies pass under the yoke,  
 who had so much pleasure before in seeing them  
 mortified in the same manner. But who can ac-  
 cuse the troops who fought at Cannæ of flight or  
 cowardice, since upwards of 50000 of them fell  
 upon the spot? since the consul fled only with 50  
 troopers; since none preserved their lives there, but  
 by the enemy's being too much fatigued to be able  
 to kill them? When the prisoners were refused to  
 be ransomed, every body in general commended  
 us for having preserved ourselves to serve our coun-  
 try; for having returned to the consul at Venusia,  
 and there formed a body that had the appearance  
 of an army. Now our condition is worse than that  
 of prisoners ever was in the days of our ancestors.  
 Their punishment consisted wholly in having their  
 arms changed, in being degraded from their rank,  
 and being assigned a place in the camp inferior to  
 what they held before; all which they recovered  
 by one signal service done the republic, by one  
 successful battle. None of them were ever banish-  
 ed, none of them deprived of the hopes of being  
 discharged, when they had served the number of  
 campaigns limited by law. They were always led  
 against the enemy, that in battle they might at  
 once put an end to their lives, or their ignominy.  
 But we, to whom nothing can be objected as a  
 fault, but preserving some Roman soldiers after the  
 battle of Cannæ, are banished far from Italy, not  
 only from our native country, but from facing the  
 enemy, to a place where we grow white in exile,  
 without hopes, without opportunity of effacing our  
 disgrace, appeasing our incensed country, nay even  
 of dying with honor. We neither desire an end  
 to be put to our ignominy, or seek a reward of



our valor ; but only liberty to put our courage and  
 bravery to the trial ; we long to be exposed to fa-  
 tiques and dangers, and to discharge the duties of  
 brave men and soldiers. The war has now been  
 prosecuted in Sicily with great vigor during two  
 years. The Carthaginians and Romans alternately  
 take towns ; battles are fought between the  
 horse and foot ; Syracuse is invested by sea and  
 land ; while we are languishing in idleness and in-  
 activity, we hear the shouts of combatants and clash  
 of arms, as if we had neither weapons or hands to  
 use them. The consul Sempronius has often en-  
 gaged the enemy with his legions of slaves, whose  
 valor is rewarded with liberty and the rank of citi-  
 zens. Let us at least be purchased as slaves, and  
 led out to the war. Let us have an opportunity to  
 come to blows with the enemy, and to purchase  
 our liberty by fighting. Do thou, Marcellus,  
 make trial of our valor by sea, by land, in a pitch-  
 ed battle, or in sieges ; we entreat you to expose us  
 to the most imminent dangers and fatigues, that  
 we may have an opportunity as soon as possible of  
 doing what we ought to have done at Cannæ, since  
 we have lived in disgrace ever since the battle we  
 lost there.'

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VI.

AFTER this speech they threw themselves at  
 Marcellus's knees. He answered them, ' that it was  
 not in his power to grant the favor they asked, but  
 he would write to the senate, and execute whatever  
 orders they should send him.' These letters were  
 brought to the new consuls, who read them in the  
 senate. After the senate had deliberated on them,  
 they came to a resolution to send him this answer,  
 ' that they did not think it proper to entrust the safe-  
 ty of the state to troops that had abandoned their  
 fellow soldiers in battle. If Marcellus was of a  
 different opinion, he was at liberty to act as he  
 thought most for the interest of the commonwealth,  
 provided none of them were ever exempted from  
 duty, received any military rewards for their brave-  
 ry,

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VII.



CHAP. • ry, or be sent back to Italy, while the enemy con-  
 VII. • tinued there.' Then the city prætor, agreeable to  
 { a decree of senate, and an ordinance of the people,  
 held the comitia, in which five commissioners were  
 chosen to repair the walls and towers; and a double  
 triumvirate, the one to take an inventory of sacred  
 things, and to put a mark on all donations; the o-  
 ther to rebuild the temples of Fortune and mother  
 Matuta, within the gate Carmentalis, and of Hope  
 without it, which had been burnt down the year be-  
 fore. Terrible storms happened this year. On  
 mount Alba it rained stones for two days successive-  
 ly. Lightning fell on two temples in the capitol;  
 on many places of the trench of the camp above Suef-  
 fula, and struck two sentrys dead. The wall and  
 several towers of Cumæ were not only struck, but  
 thrown down by thunder. At Reate a huge stone  
 was seen to roll of itself. The sun was redder than  
 ordinary, and of the color of blood. To expiate  
 these prodigies, a supplication was made for one day,  
 the consuls offered sacrifices for several, at the same  
 time was celebrated a festival for nine days. Hanni-  
 bal had long hoped for, and the Romans appre-  
 hended the revolt of Tarentum, when an event far  
 from that city hastened the execution of it. A Ta-  
 rentine, named Phileas, had long been at Rome un-  
 der the character of an ambassador. He was of a  
 restless disposition, and was very uneasy under the  
 quiet in which he seemed long to have languished.  
 But he found means at last to get access to the hosta-  
 ges from his country, who were kept in the temple  
 of Liberty, but not very strictly, because it was nei-  
 ther their own interest, nor that of their state, to de-  
 ceive the Romans. In frequent conversations he so-  
 licited them to make their escape; and having bribed  
 two of the turnkeys of the temple, he led them out  
 of the place of their confinement as soon as it was  
 dark, and fled with them. At day-break the rumor  
 of their escape spread through the city, and expresses  
 were immediately dispatched after them, who took  
 them



them at Terracina, and brought them all back. They were brought into the forum, and by an ordinance of the people whip'd with rods, and thrown down from the Tarpeian rock.

THIS cruel execution provoked two of the most powerful Grecian states in Italy. Not only the states in general, but even individuals, who happened to be either friends or relations of the persons so inhumanly executed, were exceedingly enraged. In particular thirteen young noblemen of Tarentum entered into a conspiracy. Nico and Philemenus were at the head of them. They thought it necessary to confer with Hannibal, before they took any measures; and so getting out of the city in the night time, under pretext of hunting, went to him. His camp was only at a little distance, and while the rest hid themselves in a wood near the road, Nico and Philemenus went up to the advanced guards, who seized them, which was what they desired, and carried them before the Carthaginian. After they had informed him of their conspiracy and design, he loaded them with praises and promises. Then he desired them, in order to make the populace believe that they went out of the city to hunt for prey, to drive off some Carthaginian cattle, that were grazing about, promising that they might do it in safety, and without being attacked. In consequence these young men were seen to bring in a great deal of booty, and as they ventured out very often, people were the less surprized at it. Having had a second conference with Hannibal, they made him engage, ' that the Tarentines should enjoy their liberties, laws, and estates, without infringement; they should neither pay tribute, nor receive a garison, without their consent; and that when the Roman garison was betray'd, it should be the only thing the Carthaginian should have at their disposal.' After they had agreed on these conditions, Philemenus, who was a great sportsman, made more frequent night excursions, and returned again into the city, followed by his hounds,

and

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VIII.



CHAP. and other hunting apparatus. He generally killed  
 VIII. some prey, or drove off what the enemy laid in his way on purpose, which he presented to the governor, or the keepers of the gates. People imagined he chose to hunt in the night for fear of the enemy. When by practising this often, he found that at any time of the night the gate was opened to him when he whistled as a signal, Hannibal thought it was a proper time for putting their enterprize in execution. He was three days march from Tarentum, and feigned himself sick, that his long stay in one camp might not occasion a suspicion. The Roman garison in Tarentum too ceased to be jealous of his having any design in lying there idle.

CHAP. BUT when once he was resolved to go to Ta-  
 IX. rentum he chose 10000 horse and foot, as by the nimbleness and the lightness of their arms were fittest for an expeditious march, and set out at the fourth watch of the night. He sent a detachment before, most of which were Numidian cavalry, to scour the roads, and watch carefully that none of the peasants that might descry them afar off might slip by them, and with orders to bring back those that were got before, and kill those they met, to make the country people believe they were rather a troop of robbers than a regular army. He himself marched very expeditiously, and encamped within fifteen miles of Tarentum. There he did not so much as let one of his men know whither they were going; only he assembled them, and ordered them to march all in the road, without suffering a single man to turn aside, or quit his rank, and especially to be always ready for receiving the word of command; not to do any thing without the order of their officers, and when it was proper he would inform them what he would have done. About the same hour a report reached Tarentum, that a small detachment of Numidian horse were ravaging their lands, and had terribly alarmed the country people. This advice made so little impression on the Roman governor, that he only ordered







with orders as soon as the tumult begun, to kill all the Romans wherever they met them, and to spare the inhabitants. He ordered the Tarentine youth, whenever they saw any of their townsmen at a distance, to call out to them to be quiet, not to make any noise, or be afraid.

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x.



BY this time there was such tumult and noise as usually happens at taking a town ; but no body knew for certain what the matter was. The Tarentines believed the Romans had risen to rife the town, and the Romans imagined that it was some treacherous sedition raised by the inhabitants. The governor, being awaked at the first alarm, ran to the port, and getting aboard a skiff, escaped into the citadel. A trumpet from the theatre occasioned great terror. The traitors had prepared a Roman one on purpose, and as the Greek who blow'd it was very unskilful, it was hardly possible to know who it was that gave the signal, or for whom it was given. When day broke, and the Romans knew the Gauls and Carthaginians by their armor, they were no longer in uncertainty ; and the Greeks seeing the bodies of slaughtered Romans lying in every corner, were then sufficiently sensible that Hannibal had taken the city. After the day was somewhat more advanced, the Romans, who survived the slaughter, were retired to the citadel, and the tumult by degrees quieted, Hannibal ordered the Tarentines to be assembled without their arms. They all convened, except those that followed the Romans, who fled into the citadel, resolved to share in all their fortune. Then Hannibal made a most gracious speech to the inhabitants. He put them in mind of what he had done for their countrymen, whom he had taken prisoners at the battles of Thrasymen and Cannæ. And after inveighing against the intolerable tyranny of the Romans, ordered every one of them to retire to his house, and write his name over his door. For he would immediately order a signal to be given to rife those houses that had no inscription, and would

creat



treat any one as an enemy, who should write his name on the habitation of a Roman citizen, who all lived in houses by themselves. When the assembly was dismissed, and the houses of his new friends were distinguished by the inscriptions from those of the enemy, the signal was given, and the Carthaginians dispersed to rifle the Roman habitations, where they got a great booty.

NEXT day he marched to attack the citadel. CHAP. XI.  
 But as it was almost entirely surrounded by the sea in form of a peninsula, and covered with high rocks, besides being defended from the city by a rampart and broad fossée, he saw it would be impossible to take it by force, or besieging it in form. In consequence, that he might neither be detained from greater enterprizes, by staying to defend the Tarentines, or leave them exposed to attacks from the citadel, for want of a strong guard, he determined to separate the city from the citadel by a deep ditch and rampart. He was not even without hopes, that the Romans, by sallying to hinder the work, would give him an opportunity to fight. And if they should sally with great vigor, he hoped by the slaughter he should make of them, so to lessen the strength of their garison, that the Tarentines would easily be able of themselves to defend their city against it. The work was no sooner begun, than the Romans, opening a gate, made a sally upon the pioneers, and the advanced guard posted to cover them suffered themselves to be beat back. The courage of the Romans increased in proportion to their success, so that they pursued the fugitives in greater numbers, and to a greater distance. Then upon a signal the Carthaginians, whom their general kept ready for the purpose, fell furiously upon them on all sides. The Romans were not able to sustain this charge, and could not retreat easily, being entangled by the narrowness of the place, by the new work that was begun, and by the apparatus that had been prepared to carry it on. Great numbers were driven headlong into the fossée,



CHAP. XI. and more killed in the flight, than in the battle. After this the Carthaginians continued their work without interruption. They drew a ditch, and raised a rampart on the brink of it. On the same side, and a little distance from the palisade, he built towers, that the Tarentines might defend themselves against the Romans, even without a garison. However he left part of his troops to guard and help to finish the works. He himself marched with the rest of his troops, and encamped on the Galefus<sup>a</sup>, five miles from the city. From this camp he returned to view the work, and seeing it advanced very fast even beyond his expectation, he begun to entertain hopes of being able to take the citadel. On the side of the town it was not defended by high rocks as on the other quarters, but was level, and separated only by a wall and fossée. The citadel had been for some time attacked with machines, and works of all kinds, when a reinforcement, sent to the Romans from Metapontus, so encouraged them, that they sallied out suddenly in the night, and attacked the enemy's works. They beat down some, and burnt others of them. This made Hannibal lay aside thoughts of reducing the place by assault. All his remaining hope centred in a blockade, which did not either promise great success; because the besieged, as the citadel was almost surrounded by the sea like a peninsula, and commanded the mouth of the harbor, had the sea open; while on the other hand, the city could receive no supplies from the sea; so that it was probable the besiegers would be in want of provisions sooner than the besieged. For this reason he assembled the principal Tarentines, and laid before them all the difficulties of the present enterprize. ' He did not see, he said, that it was possible to take a citadel, so well fortified, by assault. He had as little hopes in a blockade, while the enemy were masters at sea. But if he had a fleet to prevent the enemy from receiving supplies by sea, they must either a-

<sup>a</sup> Also called *Eurotas*, now *Tara*, rises in the *Apennines*.



‘ bandon the place immediately, or surrender.’ The Tarentines owned the truth of what he said, but were of opinion, ‘ that he who gave this advice, should furnish them with the means to effect it. If he would bring the Carthaginian fleet out of Sicily, they would easily do it. As for their own, being shut up in a corner, they could by no means get into the open sea, while the enemy had blocked up the mouth of the harbor.’ ‘ They may, reply’d Hannibal. Many things that seem impossible in their own nature, may be effected by industry and ingenuity. Your city stands in a plain, with spacious and level streets leading to every part of it. I will, without much difficulty, transport your ships on carts, by the street leading through the middle of the town to the sea. We shall then be masters at sea, which the enemy now are : we shall then besiege the citadel both by sea and land : nay, we shall soon take the place either with the enemy in it, or abandoned by them.’ This speech not only raised their hopes of seeing the thing effected, but inspired them with high notions of that general’s abilities. Immediately all their carts were brought together, and joined one to another. Machines were made to draw the vessels out of the water, and the way was levelled that the carts might pass along with the greater ease. A great number of men and draught cattle were provided, and the work begun with great ardor. At the end of some few days the fleet, ready equip’d and man’d, sailed round the citadel, and anchored at the mouth of the haven. The Carthaginian, after having put the affairs of Tarentum into this condition, retired into winter quarters. But after all, authors are not agreed whether Tarentum revolted in this or the preceding year. The greatest number, and those who lived nearest to that period, place it in the annals of this year.

THE celebration of the *Feriæ Latinæ* detained the consuls and prætors at Rome till the 26th of April. Having that day completed the sacrifice on



## CHAP.

## XII.

mount Alba, each set out for his respective province. Another religious scruple was raised by the predictions found in the books of Marcius. He was a celebrated diviner, and his books had fallen into the hands of M. Atilius the city prætor, when by a decree of the senate he made enquiry after such books the year before. Atilius immediately delivered them to the new prætor Sylla. There were two famous predictions of Marcius, the credit of one of which, that was published after the thing predicted had come to pass, and confirmed by the event, gained belief to the other, though the time of it's accomplishment was not yet come. The defeat at Cannæ was foretold by the former in the following words. ‘ Romans, ‘ descended from Trojans, avoid the river of Cannæ. ‘ Let not strangers oblige you to fight in the field ‘ of <sup>a</sup> Diomedes. But you will not give credit to my ‘ words, till the plain has been overflowed with your ‘ blood. The river shall carry down many thousand dead bodies of your soldiers into the great sea ‘ from a fruitful land. Your flesh shall be meat for ‘ fishes, birds and wild beasts that inhabit the earth. ‘ For so Jupiter has told me.’ Those who fought on that ground knew the plains of Diomedes, the Argian, and the river that watered the fields of Cannæ<sup>b</sup>, as they did the defeat there. Then was read the other prediction, which was more obscure than the first, not only in respect that future events are more uncertain than past, but also by being wrapt up in more mysterious terms. ‘ Romans, if you would ‘ repulse this foreign enemy and plague, I advise ‘ you to vow games to the honor of Apollo, and celebrate them with great rejoicing every year. The ‘ public shall defray part of the charge, and private ‘ persons shall contribute for themselves and their family. The city prætor shall preside at the celebration of these games. The decemvirs shall offer ‘ the sacrifices according to the Grecian rites. If you ‘ perform all these things in a regular manner, you

<sup>a</sup> The plain of Arpi, which city was built by Diomedes. <sup>b</sup> The *Aufidus*.



‘ shall always be crowned with gladness and your  
 ‘ affairs prosper. For this God will destroy these  
 ‘ your enemies, who subsist in your fields at pleasure.’

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They spent a whole day in interpreting this prediction. Next day the senate ordered the decemvirs to consult the Sybilline books, concerning the manner of celebrating the games to Apollo and offering the sacrifices. After they were consulted and a report made to the senate, the fathers resolved, ‘ that games should  
 ‘ be vowed and celebrated in honour of Apollo, and  
 ‘ that when they were to be celebrated 12000 asses  
 ‘ should be paid to the prætor to defray the expence  
 ‘ of the ceremony and sacrificing of two large victims.’ The senate also passed another decree, that ‘ com-  
 ‘ mitted the care of solemnizing this festival after  
 ‘ the Greek manner to the decemvirs; and ordering  
 ‘ them to sacrifice to Apollo an ox with gilded horns,  
 ‘ and two white goats; and a cow with gilded horns  
 ‘ to Latona.’ The prætor, when he was to exhibit the games in the circus maximus, issued an edict, that all the people should contribute money according to their ability as an offering to Apollo. This was the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were instituted in order to gain victory, and not, as most people imagine, to stop an epidemical distemper. The people assisted at them with crowns of laurel on their heads. The ladies made their supplications in the temples. Every body kept open house, and eat in their court-yards, and the day was solemnized with all kinds of religious exercises.

WHILE the Carthaginian was still in the neighborhood of Tarentum, the two consuls were in Samnium, and seemed to have a design of besieging Capua. As the Roman army had not permitted the Capuans to sow their lands, they already felt the miseries of famine, which commonly are the consequences of a long siege. In consequence they sent a deputation to Hannibal, to beg him to order them a supply of corn from the neighboring places, before the consuls should take the field with their legions and infest all the avenues to Capua. The Car-

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XIII.



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thaginian ordered Hanno to march with his army out of Bruttium into Campania, and endeavor by all means to carry a supply of corn to the Capuans. Accordingly Hanno marched out of Bruttium by bye routs in order to avoid the enemy's camp and the consuls who were in Samnium: When he arrived near Beneventum he encamped on an eminence within three miles of it. Then he ordered the corn to be brought to his camp from the neighboring states in alliance with him, where it had been laid up in the summer, and assigned guards to escort it thither. Then he gave notice to the Capuans of the day when they should come and receive it in his camp; ordering them to assemble from every corner of the country, all kinds of carriages and beasts of burden. But on this occasion the Campanians shewed their usual indolence and laziness. They sent only about 400 carts and few carriage beasts. Hanno reprimanded them severely for their intolerable negligence, and told them that extreme hunger, which rouses dumb brutes, was not capable of rousing them; so he fixed another day when a greater number of carriages should come to fetch away the corn. The Beneventines being informed of what was doing, immediately dispatched ten deputies to the consuls, who were then encamped at Bovianum. When they heard what passed at Capua, they agreed that one of them should march with his army into Campania. Fulvius, to whom that province had fallen by lot, marched by night to Beneventum, and entered the town. By being so near he easily got notice that Hanno was gone a foraging with part of his troops; and that another undisciplined, unarmed rabble that had arrived with 2000 more carts, had spread tumult and confusion every where; and the peasants mixing with the soldiers prevented the observing any order or military discipline. When the consul was sufficiently certain of this, he ordered his troops to get ready only their colors and arms against next night, in order to attack the enemy's lines. They left all their baggage at Beneventum, and setting out at the fourth watch of the



the night, they arrived at the camp before day break. They put it into such terror and consternation, that had it been situated in a plain, it had certainly been taken at the first assault. The height of the ground and the strength of the rampart alone saved it; for the ascent was so steep and difficult on all sides, that the Romans could not approach it any where. As soon as it was day an obstinate battle begun. The Carthaginians did not only defend their lines, but every place where the access to them was somewhat easy, from which they repulsed the enemy, who endeavored to climb up.

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YET the resolute valor of the Romans surmounted all obstacles, and they made their way in several places to the rampart and fossée, but not without many wounds and much slaughter. Then the consul assembled the legionary tribunes and said ‘ he thought ‘ they ought to quit that rash enterprize; and it ‘ was better to retire with his troops to Beneventum. ‘ Next day he would encamp close by the enemy, to prevent the Campanians from getting out, ‘ or Hanno from getting back to it. To facilitate ‘ this enterprize he would send for his colleague and ‘ his army, and make that the seat of the war.’ Such was the general’s advice; but when he was on the point of founding a retreat, the clamor of the troops, who would not obey so timorous an order, prevented him. A cohort of the Peligni, commanded by one Vibius, was nearest the enemy’s gate. This officer snatched up a standard and threw it over the enemy’s rampart. Then he cry’d, ‘ Let me and my cohort ‘ be accursed, if this standard remains in the hands ‘ of the enemy,’ and leapt over the fossée and rampart into the enemy’s camp. The Peligni were already at blows within the line, when, as Val. Flaccus, tribune of the third legion, on another quarter was reproaching the Romans with cowardice and yielding the honor of taking the enemy’s camp to the allies, T. Pedanius the first centurion of the principes took an ensign out of the bearer’s hand, saying. ‘ This standard ‘ and

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‘ and this centurion shall both in a moment be with-  
 ‘ in the enemy’s entrenchments. Let such follow as  
 ‘ will not suffer the enemy to take their ensign.’ He  
 passed the fossée first, and was followed by his own  
 company and then by the whole legion. By this time  
 the consul, who saw them climbing over the rampart,  
 changed his mind, and instead of drawing off the  
 troops begun to encourage them, by shewing the  
 extreme danger in which the bravest cohorts of the  
 allies and Romans were in. Then they all rush-  
 ed on through easy and difficult posts amidst a  
 shower of darts, and broke into the entrenchments.  
 Many that were wounded, and even fainting by loss  
 of blood and want of strength, used their last efforts  
 to die within the enemy’s entrenchments. It was  
 taken in an instant, as if it had been situated on a  
 plain, and without lines to defend it. It was now  
 rather a carnage than a battle, and the mixed crowds  
 of soldiers and carters were slaughtered without di-  
 stinction. Above 6000 were slain, and 7000, with  
 the Campanian carters, and all their carts and carriage  
 beasts were taken. Besides they took all the vast  
 booty that Hanno had carried off from the countries  
 of the Roman allies. When they had levelled the  
 enemy’s lines, they returned to Beneventum, whither  
 Ap. Claudius came a few days after. There both  
 consuls sold the plunder and divided it among the  
 troops. They likewise rewarded those by whose  
 means the enemy’s camp had been taken ; in parti-  
 cular Accæus the Pelignian, and T. Pedanius cen-  
 turion of the principes of the third legion. From  
 Cominium Cæritum, where Hanno received advice  
 of the destruction of his camp, he rather fled preci-  
 pitately than marched back to Bruttium, with a few  
 foragers, that happened then to be with him.

## CHAP.

xv.

W H E N the Campanians heard of the defeat of  
 their carters and their allies, they dispatched a second  
 deputation to inform the Carthaginian, ‘ that both  
 ‘ the consuls were at Beneventum within a day’s  
 ‘ march of Capua ; and that the war had in a man-

ner



ner already reached their gates and walls : If he did not fly to their relief, the enemy would become masters of Capua sooner than they had done of

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Arpi. Sure Tarentum, especially it's citadel, was not of such consequence to him, as that for sake of it he should abandon Capua, which he used to equal with Carthage, without defence against the Romans.' He promised, ' to take care of Capua,' and for the present sent with the deputies 2000 horse to protect their territories from the enemy's ravages. In the mean time the Romans, without neglecting their other affairs, took care to relieve the garison blocked up in the citadel of Tarentum. C. Servilius, a lieutenant-general who was sent into Hetruria, with orders from the senate to the prætor P. Cornelius to buy up all the corn they could, forced his way through the enemy's fleet and got safe into the port of Tarentum with several ships loaded with provisions. His arrival so revived the spirits of the garison, that they now invited the enemy to come and join them, as the enemy had done them frequently when there were little hopes of their being relieved. The garison was strong enough to defend the place, as all the troops had been brought thither from Metapontus. In consequence the Metapontines, being no longer awed by Roman soldiers, revolted to Hannibal. The Thurini on the same coast did the like. They were not so much induced to act in this manner by the example of the Tarentines and Metapontines, to whom they were allied, having all three come originally from Achaia, as in resentment to the Romans for their late cruel murder of the hostages. The friends and relations of the hostages sent letters and messengers to Hanno and Mago, who were in their neighborhood, in Bruttium, to tell them that they would betray their city to them if they would approach it with their army. M. Atinius commanded in Thurii with a weak garison. They imagined they could easily provoke him to give battle unadvisedly, not so much in confidence of his own troops, which were very few



CHAP. XV. few in number, as relying on the youth of Thurii, whom he had formed into companies and armed in case of such accidents. The Carthaginian generals, having divided the forces between them, no sooner entered the territories of Thurii, than Hanno marched his foot with colors flying up to the city. Mago concealed himself with the cavalry behind the opposite hills which covered the ambuscade. Atinius, being only informed of the Carthaginian infantry by his scouts, and knowing nothing either of the treachery within, or the ambuscade without the city, led out his forces to the attack. The conflict between the foot was very faint: only a few Romans in the front line fought: the Thurini rather were spectators, waiting the issue of the battle, than partners in it: and the Carthaginians retired on purpose to draw the imprudent enemy to the back of the hills where their cavalry lay in ambush. As soon as they were got there, the horse fell on them with a great shout, and the undisciplined rabble of the Thurini, who were not faithful to the side they fought on, fled. The Romans sustained the fight for some time, though pushed by the foot in their front and the horse in their rear. But at last they turned their backs and fled to the city. There a circle of conspirators, having let in all their own people, no sooner saw the Romans flying with precipitation to the city, than they called out, that the enemy were close on their heels, and would enter pellmell with them, if they did not quickly shut the gates. Thus were the Romans left exposed to the slaughter of the enemy. However Atinius with a few of his men were received into the city. Here the sedition detained him a short while, for some declared for defending the place, and others for yielding to fortune and delivering the city up to the conquerors. But, as most commonly happens, fortune and the worst side prevailed. Atinius with his men were conducted to the shore, and put on board some ships, more in remembrance of his mild and just government than out of regard to the Romans.

Then



Then the Carthaginians were received into the city. CHAP. xv.  
 The consuls marched from Beneventum into Campania, not only with a design to spoil the corn, which was already laid up in stores against the winter, but even to besiege Capua in form. They were desirous to signalize their consulate by the destruction of so opulent a city, and at the same time, to efface the shame and reproach that the republic deserved, for leaving the treachery of a city so near Rome three years unpunished. But not to leave Beneventum without a garison, and being desirous, in case of any sudden attack, as they did not doubt but Hannibal would come to the relief of his allies the Capuans, to match him in cavalry, they ordered Ti. Gracchus out of Lucania to Beneventum with all his horse and light arm'd troops, and to leave one of his lieutenants to command the foot left in his camp to keep Lucania in awe.

A N unlucky omen happened to Gracchus, as he was sacrificing before he set out from Lucania. When the sacrifice was finished two-serpents came out of a secret hole to the entrails, and fell to eating the liver, but upon being spy'd suddenly disappeared. It is also reported, that when the haruspices had advised to kill a new sacrifice, and they were boiling the entrails to look into them with greater care, the serpents came a second and a third time, and after licking the liver, went away without hurt. Though the soothsayers declared this prodigy concerned the general, and cautioned him against the evil counsels of false friends; yet no foresight could prevent his fate, which was fast approaching. There was one Flavius head of that part of Lucania, which adhered to the Romans, when the rest of the country revolted to Hannibal. He had been their chief magistrate for one year, and was again elected their prætor. This man changed all of a sudden, and sought for some means to ingratiate himself with the Carthaginian. But seeing he could not find a proper opportunity to go over himself, or draw the Lucanians after him, except



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xvi.

except he sealed his treaty with the life and blood of his guest, he privately entered into a conference with Mago, who then commanded in Bruttium. Having stipulated, that in case he betray'd the Roman general to him, the Lucanians should enjoy their liberty and laws, he led the Carthaginian into a place where he would bring Gracchus that he might kill him. He desired Mago to arm his horse and foot, and seize some secret places in which he might conceal a great number of men. When they had sufficiently viewed and examined the ground, he fixed a day for the execution of their wicked design. Flavius went to the Roman general and told him, ' he had formed a project of the last consequence, but in order to execute it with success it was necessary that Gracchus should lend a helping hand. He had persuaded the prætors of all the Lucanian states that, in the general defection of Italy, had gone over to Hannibal, to return into the Roman alliance. He had demonstrated to them, that ever since the defeat at Cannæ, which had almost ruin'd Rome, the Roman state daily prospered more and more : Hannibal's force was decay'd and almost dwindled into nothing : that their former crime had not render'd Rome inexorable ; for no nation was more inclined to clemency, or readier to pardon injuries, as their ancestors had frequently experienced when they rebell'd. These arguments he said he had used with them ; but they chose rather to hear the reasons from Gracchus's own mouth, and to make a league with him, to carry back as a pledge of his fidelity. That he had appointed a private place with those that were in the secret, not far from the Roman camp. There the affair would be concluded in a few words, and all Lucania become the friends and allies of the Romans.' Gracchus, who suspected no treachery in Flavius's discourse or the affair he proposed, and was imposed upon by the probability of the project, set out only with his lictors and a single troop of horse. His host led him head-long into the ambuscade, where

the



the enemy suddenly fell upon him. That he might be in no doubt about his being betray'd, Flavius joined the enemy. A shower of darts were poured on Gracchus and his troop of horse. Then leaping from his horse and ordering the rest to do the same, he exhorted them ' to signalize, by their valor, the ' only moment that fortune had left them. For what ' can we, who are but a handful, surrounded by a ' multitude in a valley encompassed with woods and ' hills, expect but death? We have only two things ' to chuse, whether to offer our bodies to be butcher- ' ed, like beasts without revenging ourselves, or, by ' converting our tame patience and expectation of ' the event into rage and fury, boldly to attack, and ' expire covered with the blood of dying enemies on ' heaps of their arms and slaughtered bodies. Above ' all things endeavour to kill the Lucanian traitor. ' If you send him as a victim to the infernal regions ' before me, I shall reckon it a noble piece of service, ' and shall die with unspeakable comfort.' This said, he wrap'd his left arm in his paludamentum, for he had not so much as brought a buckler with him, and rush- ed sword in hand upon the enemy. The battle was more obstinate than could have been expected from a handful of men. The Romans had nothing to defend their bodies, and were below in a hollow, while all the enemy was above them. So that they were mostly killed by darts at a distance. The Carthaginians used their utmost efforts to take Gracchus alive as he now had no guard about him. But, spy- ing his Lucanian host among them, he rushed with such fury into their thickest ranks, it was impossible to spare him but at the expence of a great many lives. Mago immediately sent his body to Hannibal, with orders to place it and the fasces which had been taken before the tent of the general. This is the true history of his exit, that he died in Lucania, at a place called the Ancient Plains.

SOME authors say that he lost his life in the territories of Beneventum, near the Calor. He had gone

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gone out from the camp attended only by his lictors and three slaves in order to bathe in the river Matapon, where he was killed by the enemy, who were accidentally hid among the willows growing on it's banks, and attacked him naked, unarmed, and defending himself with the stones he found in the water. Others say, that having gone out by the advice of the soothsayers about five hundred paces from the camp, in order to expiate the forementioned prodigies in the open fields, he was surrounded by two troops of Numidian horse who accidentally lay in ambush at that place. In so much uncertainty are we both about the place and manner of the death of this great and illustrious personage. There are likewise different accounts of his burial. Some say that he was buried by his own men in the Roman camp. But others say, and it is the most common opinion, that he was buried by Hannibal in the entry to the Carthaginian camp, where he erected a funeral pile to him. That the Carthaginian himself, both by words and deeds, honored his obsequies, while they made their evolutions under arms, the Spaniards dancing, and each nation making motions both with their arms and bodies agreeable to their country fashion. This is their account, who say he lost his life in Lucania. If one will believe those who say he was killed at the river Calor, the enemy got no more than his head. That when it was brought to Hannibal he immediately sent Carthalo to carry it to the Roman camp to the quæstor Cn. Cornelius, who performed the funerals of this general within the lines, while both the army and inhabitants of Beneventum assisted at it.

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THE consuls, having entered the territories of Capua, pillaged the country all about. The Capuans and Mago made a sally upon them, and put them into such confusion, that they ran in great precipitation to their ensigns; but being attacked before they could be formed in order of battle, they lost upwards of 1500 men. The Capuans, who are naturally proud, grew extremely confident on gaining this advantage,

and



and harassed the Romans by many skirmishes; but the fate of one battle, in which they had rashly and unadvisedly engaged, made the consuls be more on their guard. Yet an inconsiderable incident abated the arrogance of the Campanians, and revived the courage of the Romans; so certain it is that in war the most trivial events have sometimes great consequences. A very strict friendship subsisted between T. Quintius Crispinus a Roman and Badius a Campanian. What contributed to increase this amity was, that Badius, having fallen sick at Rome before the revolt of the Capuans, had been taken care of by Crispinus in the most generous and kind manner. At this time Badius, stepping out before the advanced guards at the gates, desired Crispinus to be called to him. When Crispinus was told of it, imagining that his old friend and acquaintance wanted an amicable conference, he went out a little from the rest, remembering, even amidst the rupture between their states, the private tie that had united them together. But as soon as he came in sight, Badius cry'd out, 'I challenge you, Crispinus, to fight. Let us mount our horses, and without seconds, decide which of us is the best soldier.' Crispinus reply'd, 'Which of us wants enemies enough, against whom to make trial of our valor? Was I to meet you in the heat of battle I would avoid you, that I might not embroil my hands in the blood of my friend.' Then, turning about, he was going away. But Badius, growing more insolent, accused him of mean-spiritedness and cowardice, and called his host his enemy, reproaches which he himself merited more than the generous Roman. 'You pretend, said he, a desire to spare me, when you well know you are not my match. But if you believe that the ruptures between our two states have not sufficiently cancel'd and dissolved the private ties subsisting between you and me, let Badius the Campanian and T. Q. Crispinus the Roman, openly in the sight of all, in the hearing of the two armies, renounce their friendship.



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‘ ship. I will have no society, no alliance with  
 ‘ you, whom I look on as an enemy, and desire to  
 ‘ be esteemed so by you, who have come to attack  
 ‘ my country, my household Gods, my public and  
 ‘ private Gods. If you have any courage, come and  
 ‘ fight me.’ While Crispinus seemed a long while  
 in suspense, his comrades conjured him not to suffer  
 the affronts of the Campanian to pass unpunished.  
 Then he delay’d no longer, than till he informed his  
 officers, and obtained their permission to fight this  
 enemy who challenged him. When he had got  
 leave, he took his arms, mounted his horse, and  
 calling Badius by name, dared him to the combat.  
 The Campanian appeared immediately. Then they  
 spurred their horses against each other. Crispinus  
 ran Badius through the left shoulder with his lance.  
 Upon this wound he fell from his horse, and the Ro-  
 man dismounted to dispatch him on foot; but before  
 he could effect this, Badius, leaving his horse and  
 buckler behind, fled to his own party. Crispinus  
 seized the horse and arms, and holding up his hono-  
 rable spoils on the point of his lance, which was  
 stained with the blood of his antagonist, was con-  
 ducted with praises and acclamations of the troops,  
 to the consuls, who greatly commended his valor,  
 and loaded him with presents.

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XIX.

HANNIBAL, having decamped from the ter-  
 ritories of Beneventum, came to Capua. The third  
 day after his arrival he drew out his troops in order  
 of battle, in full assurance, that the Romans, against  
 whom, without his help, the Campanians had been  
 successful a few days before, would much less be able  
 to sustain him and his troops so often victorious.  
 The battle was begun much to the disadvantage of  
 the Romans, who were overwhelmed by a shower  
 of darts from the enemy’s cavalry, till the signal was  
 given for their own horse to charge. Then all the  
 fighting was between the horse. While things were  
 in this situation, Sempronius’s army, commanded by  
 the quæstor Cn. Cornelius, being descried at a dis-  
 tance



stance, made both sides apprehensive that some new enemy was coming upon them. For this reason both founded a retreat, as if by concert, and retired to their respective camps almost upon equal terms. But more Romans were killed at the first charge of the horse. To draw the Carthaginian from Capua, the consuls, having divided their troops, decamped next night. Fulvius marched into the territories of Cumæ, and Appius into Lucania. When Hannibal was told next day that the Romans had abandoned their camps, and had marched by different routs in two separate bodies, he was some time unresolved which to follow, but at last determined to follow Appius. This consul, after having made the enemy march and countermarch as he pleased, returned to Capua by another rout. But in another place the Carthaginian had an opportunity of fighting to advantage. There was one M. Centenius Penula, an officer highly considerable among the centurions of the first rank, both for his size and courage. He had served the limited number of campaigns. Cornelius Sylla, the prætor, introduced him to the senate, where he beg'd the fathers to give him the command of 5000 men. 'He promised, that as he was well acquainted both with the country and with the enemy, to do some signal service. He would employ the same snares and artifices against the Carthaginian, which he had used to entrap their generals and armies.' This promise was as indiscreetly believed, as it had been rashly made; as if there was no difference between the talents of a private officer, and those of a general. Instead of five he had 8000 men granted him, one half of which were Romans, and the other half allies. He likewise picked up several volunteers on his march, and arrived in Lucania with double the forces he had at setting out. Here Hannibal had halted, after having pursued Appius to no purpose. The match was very unequal. On one side Hannibal commanded an army flushed with victories; on the other a centurion with raw troops, the most of whom had been raised in haste, and but half armed.



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When the two armies came in sight, as neither declined coming to blows, they immediately drew up in order of battle. Though the Romans were not equal to the enemy in any respect, yet they maintained the fight upwards of two hours, making extraordinary efforts, as long as their general survived. But, as he exposed his person to the enemy's darts, not only to preserve his former reputation, but for fear of the disgrace he would incur by a defeat owing entirely to his rashness, he soon fell. The Romans were immediately routed, and in such a manner, that they had scarce a way left to escape. The enemy's cavalry blocked up all the ways so effectually, that of so great a multitude scarce 1000 were saved. The rest perished, either in the field, or in the flight.

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XX.

THE consuls had once more begun the siege of Capua with their utmost efforts. They had prepared, and brought to their army, every thing necessary for so grand an enterprize. Provisions were laid up at Casilinum, a strong fort at the mouth of the Volturnus, which Fabius Maximus had formerly fortified, and put a garison in, because it lay near the sea, and commanded the river. It is now a city. To these two maritime forts, the corn that had been lately sent from Sardinia, and what the prætor Junius had bought up in Hetruria, was sent from Ostia, to supply the army during the winter. To enhance the misfortune in Lucania, the Volones, who had served with the greatest fidelity while Gracchus was alive, disbanded themselves, as if they had been discharged from their oath by the death of their general. Hannibal was not willing to neglect Capua, or abandon his allies in so dangerous a conjuncture. But the advantage he had gained, by the rashness of one Roman general, made him promise himself an opportunity to surprize another with his army. The Apulian embassadors had told him that the prætor Cn. Fulvius had been at first very much on his guard, while he was besieging some of their towns which had gone over to Hannibal; but afterwards both he  
and



and his troops, flushed with success, and loaded with spoil, had sunk so much into licentiousness and indolence, that they had banished all military discipline from amongst them. Thus, as he had on many other occasions, and particularly a few days before, experienced, how easy it was to defeat an army commanded by an unskilful general, he marched into Apulia.

THE Roman legions, and the prætor Fulvius, were then encamped near Herdonea. Upon advice of the enemy's approach, the soldiers had almost pulled up their ensigns, and marched out to battle without their general's order. Nor did any consideration restrain them, but a firm belief that they could do it when they pleased. When Hannibal was informed of this disturbance in their camp, and that most of them insolently pressed their general to give the signal, by constantly calling out to arms, he was certain he now had an opportunity of fighting to advantage. Wherefore next night he posted 3000 light armed men in the houses in the neighborhood, and amongst the shrubs and bushes, with orders to start out all at once when a signal should be given them. Mago, at the head of 2000 horse, was ordered to secure all the avenues, through which it was probable the routed enemy would attempt to make their escape. Having made these dispositions in the night, by day-break he marched out in order of battle. Fulvius immediately appeared, not from any hopes he had of success, but drag'd to it by the blind impetuosity of his troops. As they took the field rashly, so they marshalled their battle. The soldiers ran blindfold to take whatever post they pleased without any order, and left them again either for fear of being too much exposed to the enemy, or because they liked others better. The first legion and left wing were first formed in a very long line. The legionary tribunes loudly remonstrated, that they had no depth or support behind, and that the enemy would break through wherever they should chance to charge. But they would neither hear nor ponder any wholesome advice. Hannibal, who was an abler general than

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Fulvius, advanced with an army of a different complexion, and otherwise drawn up. In consequence the Romans were not able to sustain the first shout and charge. Their general, who was as foolish and rash as Centenius, but had not his courage, no sooner saw his troops in disorder, and giving way, than he put spurs to his horse, and fled with about 200 cavalry. The rest, who were hard pressed in front, and surrounded on the flanks and rear, were cut to pieces in such a manner, that of 18000 not above two escaped. The enemy took their camp.

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XXII.

THE news of these defeats immediately on the back of one another, spread great grief and consternation at Rome. Yet the success of the consuls, in the principal seat of the war, somewhat lessened the concern for these misfortunes. The senate sent C. Lectorius and M. Metilius to the consuls, to desire they would endeavor to get together the remains of the two defeated armies, lest through fear and despair they should surrender to the enemy, as had happened after the battle of Cannæ. They likewise desired they would make diligent search after the Volones, who had abandoned their colors. P. Cornelius was ordered to do the same, and make new levies. He published an edict in all fairs and market towns, ordering strict enquiry to be made after the Volones, that they might be brought back to their colors. All this was executed with the strictest care. The consul Claudius, after having left D. Junius at the mouth of the Volturnus, and M. Aurel. Cotta at Puteoli, to send the corn to the camp as fast as any ships should arrive from Hetruria or Sardinia, marched back to Capua. He found his colleague Q. Fulvius bringing every thing necessary from Casilinum, and busily employ'd about the siege of Capua. Then both consuls invested the place, and sent for the prætor Nero from the Claudian camp at Sueffula. He, after leaving a tolerable garison for the defence of the place, came to Capua with all the rest of his troops. Thus were three prætorian tents erected before



fore Capua, and three armies at once begun to draw lines of circumvallation and contravallation round it. CHAP. XXII.

They likewise raised towers at proper distances. They also repulsed the Capuans, who sallied to interrupt their works in such a manner, that at last they obliged them to keep within their walls and gates. Before the works and lines were finished, the besieged sent deputies to Hannibal to complain, that he had deserted Capua, and as it were surrendered it to the Romans. They likewise conjured him at least to relieve them now when they were not only besieged, but blockaded. The prætor Cornelius wrote to the consuls, desiring, ‘ that before they entirely invested Capua, they would give such Capuans as pleased leave to quit Capua, and bring all their effects with them. All who should leave it before the fifteenth of march should enjoy their liberty and estates: but after that day was elapsed, whoever should stay, or whoever should quit it, should be reckoned in the number of the enemies of Rome.’ These terms were offered the Capuans, but they rejected them with contempt, and returned for them reproaches and menaces. Hannibal marched his army from Herdonea to Tarentum, in hopes of getting possession of the citadel by force or stratagem. But succeeding in neither, he turned off to Brundisium, in expectation that city would be betray’d to him. As he lay near it, spending his time to no better purpose, the Capuan deputies came to him with their complaints and prayers. Hannibal made them this haughty reply, ‘ that as he had formerly raised the siege, so the consuls would not at this time stay for his coming.’ With these vain hopes he dismissed them, and at their return they found great difficulty to enter the town, as it was quite surrounded by lines.

DURING this close siege of Capua, that of Syracuse was brought to an end, as well by intestine sedition, as by the violent attacks and bravery of the Roman general and troops. Marcellus, when the spring came on, deliberated, whether he should turn

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CHAP. his arms against Himilco and Hippocrates at Agri-  
XXIII. gentum, or push the siege of Syracuse. For he saw  
no means of taking it by force, as it's situation rendered it impregnable by sea and land; or by famine, as the Carthaginians could without obstruction supply them with provisions. But that he might leave no method untry'd, he ordered some deserters, (for he had in his camp many noble Syracusans, who had been banished when Syracuse revolted from the Romans, because they declared against that resolution) to sound the inclinations of some of their own faction in their conferences, and promise, that if the city should be surrendered to the Romans, they should enjoy their liberties and laws. But it was difficult to come to the speech of them, because many of the inhabitants were suspected, and the revoltors were extremely vigilant and attentive to discover any attempt of that nature. But a slave of one of those exiles, being let into the city as a deserter, proposed the matter at first to a small number that were got together. Then some of them hiding themselves under the nets in a fisher-boat, got to the Roman camp, where they conferred with the fugitives. Sometimes one party, and sometimes another, came often in the same manner. At last fourscore entered into the intrigue. But when every measure was agreed on for betraying the city, one Attalus, out of resentment for not having been trusted with the secret, discovered the plot to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death by the most inhuman tortures. This attempt having miscarried, another incident revived their hopes. One Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, whom the Syracusans had sent to king Philip, was taken by some Roman cruizers. Epicydes was very desirous to redeem him. Marcellus easily complied, because the Romans at that time wished to maintain the friendship of the Ætolians, who were allies to the Lacedæmonians. The conferences about this ransom were appointed to be held at the port Trogilii, at the foot of a tower called Galeagra. This place seemed very  
convenient



convenient for both, as it lay in the middle. As they went thither several times, one of the Romans narrowly examined the wall at this near view. He counted the stones, cast up within himself how broad those in front were, and formed as near a guess as he could of the height of the wall. When he had measured it in this manner, and discovered that it was much lower than he himself and others had formerly conjectured, and that it might be easily scaled with ladders of a moderate size, he informed Marcellus of it. The proconsul did not neglect the information; and wanted an opportunity to come to the place, which was difficult, because it was guarded with extraordinary care. A deserter put an end to his perplexity, by informing him, that a festival was to be celebrated for three days in honor of Diana. That as the siege had occasioned a scarcity of other provisions, Epicycles gave out wine to the whole city, and the principal men distributed it to the tribes, so that the festival would be solemnized by drinking plentifully. When Marcellus heard this, he conferred with a few of the legionary tribunes, and by their means picked out such centurions and soldiers as were fit for executing so bold an enterprize. When he had privately got ready the scaling ladders, he ordered the signal to be given to the rest to refresh themselves, and go to sleep, because they were to go upon an expedition in the night. At the time of night that he thought the besieged, after having eat and drank plentifully, would be in their first sleep, he ordered a single company to carry the scaling ladders, and a 1000 men to march to the place in a thin line without noise. When the first were got up without noise or tumult, the rest followed in order, being encouraged by the boldness of those that went before them.

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THE 1000 men had already got up upon that part, when other detachments approached, and by a greater number of ladders gained the top. The signal was given from Hexapylos, whither they had marched without meeting a single person as in a vast desert,

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desert, because the greatest part were either fast asleep in the towers, by having eat and drank too much, or were still tippling with their eyes almost closed. However they killed some of them asleep in their beds. Then they began to beat down a postern gate near Hexapylos by force, and, as had been agreed on, made the trumpets sound from the wall. And now they kept no longer silence, but acted openly, for they were advanced as far as Epipolæ, a post that was strongly guarded, where the enemy were no longer to be deceived, but terrified. It happened in fact that they were terrified. For as soon as they heard the sound of the trumpets, and the shouts of those that were on the walls, and masters of part of the town, imagining that they were in possession of every post, some of the guards fled along the wall, and others leaped down headlong amidst a crowd of frightened wretches. A great part of the inhabitants were hitherto ignorant of the misfortune, as vast numbers were fast asleep, furcharged with eating and drinking, and as the city was so large, that what was felt in one part of it did not soon spread through the whole. The gates of Hexapylos being broke down, at day-break Marcellus entered the town with all his forces. This roused all the townsmen, who run to arms, to try if they could defend their city, which was very near taken. Epicydes marched with all expedition with a body of troops from the island called Nasos, thinking that only a few had by the negligence of the guards scaled the walls, and that he would easily repulse them. As he met those that were flying in fear, he said, they were more alarmed than they needed to be, and exaggerated everything beyond reality. But when he saw all Epipolæ full of soldiers, he threw only a few darts at them and marched back to Achradina, less afraid of their force and numbers of the enemy, than apprehensive that some intestine conspiracy might be formed, at that in the confusion he should find the gates of Achradina and the island shut against him. When

Marcel



Marcellus had entered the walls and from an eminence CHAP.  
taken a view of the city, which was then one of the XXIV.  
most beautiful in the world, he is said to have shed  
tears, partly of joy for having executed so great an  
enterprize, and partly of sorrow, when he reflected  
on it's ancient renown. He called to mind, two  
Athenian fleets, two powerful armies with two illu-  
strious generals destroy'd before it; the many and  
bloody wars it had sustained against the Carthaginians;  
it's many and powerful tyrants and kings, especially  
Hiero, whose memory was still very recent, who,  
besides his virtues, and the endowments fortune had  
graced him with, had particularly signalized himself  
by the eminent services he had done the Romans.  
When all these things occur'd to his memory, and he  
considered that this stately city would in the twinkling  
of an eye be in flames and soon reduced to ashes,  
before he advanced to Achradina, he gave permission  
to such Syracusans, who, as we have before observed  
were in the Roman camp, to use their interest by fair  
speeches to engage the enemy to surrender the city.

THE gates and walls of Achradina were princi- CHAP.  
pally in the possession of deserters, who would nei- XXV.  
ther suffer any person to approach the walls or hold  
any conference with the inhabitants, because they  
had no hopes of pardon in the conditions of peace.  
Marcellus, seeing this method did not succede, or-  
dered his troops to advance to fort Euryalus, situated  
on an eminence in the extremity of the city farthest  
from the sea, and commanding the roads into the  
country and land-side of the island, which makes it  
very convenient for receiving convoys. The govern-  
or, whom Epicydes had placed in this fort, was  
one Philodemus an Argian. Marcellus sent Sosis,  
one of the regicides, to him. The Argian spun out  
the conference to a great length, and then sent Mar-  
cellus word, that he must take time to deliberate.  
He affected delays from day to day till Himilco and  
Hippocrates should arrive with their troops, whom  
if he had once within the citadel, he did not doubt  
but



CHAP. but he would be able to cut off the Roman army  
 xxv. pent up within the walls. When Marcellus saw that  
 he was not able to take this fort, and that the govern-  
 or would not surrender it, he pitched his camp in  
 the space between Neapolis and Tycha, two parts of  
 the city as large as towns themselves. He was afraid,  
 if he should encamp in places better inhabited, that  
 he should not be able to restrain his soldiers from  
 running up and down through avidity of plunder.  
 Thither deputies came to him from Tycha and Nea-  
 polis, with woollen fillets on their heads, beseeching  
 him, to spare their lives and not to burn their houses.  
 Having held a council of war on their requests, rather  
 than demands, he ordered his troops, not to do the  
 least injury to any person of free condition, and every  
 thing else should be abandoned to them. Thus was  
 his camp surrounded as with a rampart by the walls of  
 the houses, and he posted strong guards at the gates  
 that faced the streets, lest his lines should be assaulted,  
 while his troops were dispersed. Then he gave the  
 signal and the soldiers fell to plunder. Though the  
 breaking of the doors occasion'd great terror and con-  
 fusion, yet they murdered no body. But they put  
 no stop to their plundering till they had carried off  
 all the rich effects and treasure that the inhabitants had  
 amassed during the long peace they had enjoy'd. In  
 the mean time Philodemus, despairing of being suc-  
 cored, surrendered the fort to the Romans, on condi-  
 tion, that he should be allow'd to march out without  
 violence to Epicycles. While every body was engaged  
 another way, and all was in confusion in that part of  
 the town which was taken, Bomilcar took the op-  
 portunity of a stormy night, that made it impossible  
 for the Roman fleet to ride at anchor, to sail out of  
 the harbor of Syracuse with 35 ships, and gained the  
 main sea. He left Epicycles 50 ships. He informed  
 the Carthaginians of the condition Syracuse was in  
 and in a few days returned with a fleet of 100 sail. It  
 is reported, that for this piece of service Epicycle  
 presented him with great quantities of Hiero's fine  
 furniture.



MARCELLUS having got possession of Euryalus and put a garison into it, of all things was not afraid of having troops let into the citadel behind, to annoy his troops while they were pent up and entangled within the walls. Therefore, having formed three camps in proper posts he invested Achradina, in hopes of reducing the besieged by famine. Both sides remained quiet in their posts for several days. Then Hippocrates and Himilco suddenly arrived, which brought attacks on the Romans from all quarters. For Hippocrates having entrenched his forces at the great port gave the signal to those in Achradina, and attacked the Romans old camp, which was commanded by Crispinus. At the same time Epicydes made a sally upon Marcellus's posts, and the Carthaginian fleet warp'd up to the shore, which lay between the city and the Roman camp, to prevent Marcellus from sending any relief to Crispinus. However the enemy raised a great alarm only, without giving many blows. For Crispinus not only repulsed Hippocrates, but pursued him as he fled in a fright. Marcellus also drove Epicydes into the town. Such precautions were now taken, that all seemed sufficiently fortify'd against any future sudden sallies of the enemy. Besides all other calamities the plague seized them both, which suspended hostilities with great ease. As it was then autumn, and the climate naturally unwholesom, but much more so without the city than within, the insupportable heat affected their bodies in both camps. At first the hot season and bad air brought on mortal distempers. Afterwards commerce with the sick, and the assistance that was given them, propagated the infection. Hence it happened that some who had been seized with it, died abandoned and neglected. Others who tended and took care of the sick, carried the contagion wherever they went. Nothing was to be seen but continual deaths and burials, and nothing heard night or day but the groans of dying wretches. But at length being habituated to these miseries so hardened their hearts, that



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that they not only ceased to weep and lament after the corps of the dead ; but did not so much as carry them out or bury them ; and dead bodies lay up and down in view of those who expected the same fate. The dead killed the sick, and the sick affected those that were well, as well through fear as by the contagious and pestilential stench of their bodies. And some chusing rather to die by the sword attacked the enemy's posts singly. However this plague made much more havoc among the Carthaginians than in the Roman camp ; for the latter, having been a long time before Syracuse, were seasoned to the air and water of the place. The Sicilians, who served in the enemy's army, no sooner perceived, that the infection was communicated by the corrupted air of the place, than they retired to their respective cities which were near at hand. But as the Carthaginians had no place to retire to, they perished to a man, together with their generals, Himilco and Hippocrates. Marcellus, seeing the violence of the distemper increase, drew his troops into the town, where the shade and houses relieved their weak bodies exceedingly. Yet that plague swept off great numbers in the Roman army.

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xxvii.

AS the Carthaginian land army was destroy'd, the Sicilians, who served under Hippocrates, retired to two small towns, the one three and the other fifteen miles from Syracuse, but well fortified and strong by situation. Thither they had carried stores, and sent for succors from their states. In the mean time, Bomilcar, who had returned once more to Carthage, represented the situation of their allies in such a light as to fill them with hopes that they would not only be able to lend them considerable aid, but even to take the Romans in the captive city. Hereby he prevailed with them to send a vast number of transports loaded with all kinds of provisions along with him, and to reinforce his fleet. In consequence he set out from Carthage with a fleet of 130 galleys, and 700 transports. He had a fair wind to carry him



him to Sicily. But the same winds hindered him from doubling cape Pachynum. First the report of his arrival, and then of his being unexpectedly de-

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xxvii.

tained by contrary winds, filled the Syracusans and Romans with joy and fears alternately. But Epicydes fearing, that if the easterly winds which then stopped them should continue many days, the Carthaginian fleet would sail back to Africa, gave the command of Achradina to the generals of the mercenaries, and put to sea to Bomilcar. This admiral was riding in a road on that side of Pachynum that looks towards Africa, and in fear of an attack, not because he was not a match for the fleet in numbers and strength (for he was superior to them in both) but because they had the wind fairer. However Epicydes prevailed with him at length, to risque a battle. Marcellus also, seeing that reinforcements from all parts of the island arrived in the Sicilian army every day, that the Carthaginian fleet had brought a great supply of provisions, and fearing that he should be shut up both by sea and land at the same time, resolved to hinder Bomilcar from entering the port of Syracuse, though he was inferior to him in numbers. Thus two fleets rode at cape Pachynum ready to engage as soon as the sea was calm enough to stand farther off. The east wind, which had been very high for several days, was no sooner abated than Bomilcar got under sail first. The headmost of his fleet seemed to stand out to sea, in order to facilitate their doubling the cape. But when he saw the Roman fleet bearing down upon him, on a sudden, none knew why, he bore away, having sent orders to the transports at Heraclea, to sail back to Africa. He himself coasted along Sicily and then proceeded to Tarentum. Thus all Epicydes's mighty hopes being quashed in a moment, and not desiring to return to a city already half taken, he sailed for Agrigentum, rather with a design there to wait the issue of the siege, than thence to make any motion.

AS soon as it was known in the Sicilian camp, that



CHAP. that Epicydes had abandoned Syracuse, that the  
 xxviii. Carthaginians had left the island, which was in a  
 manner delivered up to the Romans, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after sounding the inclination of the besieged in a conference with them, to treat of the terms on which the city should be surrendered to him. There was no great dispute about them, and it was agreed that whatever had belonged to the kings should be ceded to the Romans, and the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their liberty and laws. Then they demanded a conference with those whom Epicydes had left at the head of the besieged. To them they declared ‘ that they had been sent to Marcellus  
 ‘ and from him to the Sicilian army, to make a treaty, in which the interests of the besieged, as well as  
 ‘ of those that were not, should be taken care of;  
 ‘ for it would be injustice in the one to provide for  
 ‘ their own safety and neglect that of the other.” Then they were received into the city, where they entered into conferences with their friends and acquaintances. In these they informed them of the articles they had settled with Marcellus, and by the hopes of safety induced them to put to death Epicydes’s lieutenants, Polyclitus, Philistio and Epicydes surnamed Sidon. After they had killed them they assembled the people, and complained of the famine, of which they used to mutter amongst themselves secretly; they insisted, ‘ that though they suffered so  
 ‘ many calamities, yet they could not impute them  
 ‘ to fortune, since it was in their own power to put  
 ‘ an end to them. The Romans had undertaken the  
 ‘ siege of Syracuse out of affection, not enmity. For  
 ‘ they had not taken arms or begun the siege till they  
 ‘ were informed, that the retainers of Hannibal, and  
 ‘ then Hieronymus, Hippocrates and Epicydes had  
 ‘ oppressed them. It was with a design to rescue it  
 ‘ out of the hands of these cruel tyrants, not to reduce  
 ‘ the city itself. But now since Hippocrates was dead,  
 ‘ Epicydes shut out of Syracuse, his lieutenants killed,  
 ‘ and the Carthaginians driven out of all their posses-  
 ‘ sions



CHAP.  
XXVIII.

‘ sions in Sicily by sea or land, what reason had the  
 ‘ Romans not to desire the preservation of Syracuse,  
 ‘ as much as if Hiero, the most faithful ally of  
 ‘ Rome, was still alive? For this reason neither the  
 ‘ city, nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear, but  
 ‘ from themselves; if they let slip the opportunity of  
 ‘ being reconciled to the Romans. They would ne-  
 ‘ ver have so favorable an opportunity as they had  
 ‘ at present; if they did not make peace now when  
 ‘ they were freed from the heavy yoke of their ty-  
 ‘ rants.’

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XXIX.

THIS discourse was received with a general ap-  
 probation. Yet the assembly thought proper to chuse  
 prætors before they named deputies. Some of the  
 new prætors were sent on the deputation, and the chief  
 of them addressed Marcellus thus: ‘ It was not the  
 ‘ Syracusans who first renounced your alliance, but  
 ‘ Hieronymus, a greater enemy to his subjects than  
 ‘ to you. Neither was it any Syracusan who di-  
 ‘ sturb’d the peace when it was afterwards established  
 ‘ by the death of this tyrant, but two of his guards,  
 ‘ Hippocrates and Epicydes, who partly kept us  
 ‘ under by fear, and partly ensnared us to act against  
 ‘ you. And as soon as we are become our own  
 ‘ masters by the death of those who held Syracuse  
 ‘ in captivity, we come to deliver up our arms,  
 ‘ persons, walls and city, determined to submit to  
 ‘ any terms you shall impose upon us. Marcellus,  
 ‘ the Gods have given you the glory of taking the  
 ‘ most noble and beautiful of all the Grecian cities.  
 ‘ All our past actions by sea or land, that are me-  
 ‘ morable, will add to the lustre of your triumph.  
 ‘ Let not posterity only judge by fame of the great-  
 ‘ ness of Syracuse which you have taken, but with  
 ‘ their own eyes: Spare our city, that we may shew  
 ‘ all strangers who shall come here by sea or land,  
 ‘ the trophies we have gain’d over the Athenians  
 ‘ and Carthaginians, and those you have gain’d  
 ‘ from us: let Syracuse be delivered up entire, to  
 ‘ be placed under the protection of your family, and

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CHAP.

XXIX.

‘ it’s inhabitants become the clients of the Claudian  
 ‘ name. Let not the remembrance of Hieronymus’s  
 ‘ crimes have more influence upon you, than that of  
 ‘ Hiero’s constant friendship. The latter was much  
 ‘ longer your friend, than the former your enemy.  
 ‘ You experienced the effects of Hiero’s amity, but  
 ‘ the frenzy of Hieronymus only worked his own  
 ‘ destruction.’ With regard to the Romans the Sy-  
 racufans were perfectly safe, and sure of obtaining all  
 they requested. All the hostilities and all the danger  
 they had to apprehend was in their own city. For  
 the deserters, imagining that they should be delivered  
 up to the Romans, inspired the mercenaries with the  
 same fear, and engaged them to assist them. In con-  
 sequence they ran to arms, began with killing the  
 prætors, and then fell to massacring the Syracufans.  
 In their rage they killed all they met, and plundered  
 every thing nearest them. That they might not be  
 without leaders, they chose six præfects, three to  
 command in Achradina, and three in Naso. But at  
 length the tumult was appeased, and the mercenaries,  
 by examining into matters, began clearly to discover  
 what had been concluded on with the Romans, and  
 that their case was very different from that of the  
 deserters.

CHAP.

XXX.

A T that instant the deputies returned from Mar-  
 cellus, and made them sensible that they had been  
 excited to that insurrection by gross misrepresentati-  
 ons, and that the Romans had no cause to punish them.  
 Among the three governors of Achradina was a  
 Spaniard named Meric. A countryman of his, who  
 belonged to the Roman army, was purposely sent to  
 him in the deputies train. Finding Meric alone, he  
 first informed him of the condition in which he had  
 left Spain from which he had lately come. ‘ The  
 ‘ Roman arms, says he, prevail all over it. You  
 ‘ may by one great action become a great man among  
 ‘ your countrymen, whether you chuse to serve in  
 ‘ the Roman army, or return to Spain. On the other  
 ‘ hand, if you obstinately stand out in the siege,  
 ‘ what



what hopes can you have, since you are blocked up by sea and land?' These reasons made an impression on Meric, and when it was resolved to send deputies to Marcellus, he sent his own brother among them. The Spaniard brought him to a private audience of the Roman general, and after having agreed on the conditions, and settled the method in which every thing was to be performed, he returned to Achradina. Then Meric, to prevent all suspicion of his intended treachery, said, 'It was not proper, that deputies should go in and out at pleasure; that they neither ought to admit any, nor send any. And that they might be guarded with the strictest vigilance, each governor should have a distinct post assigned him, for the safe keeping of which he should be responsible.' They unanimously agreed to this division, and the post that fell to Meric's care, was that part between the fountain of Arethusa and the great port. This he fell on means to inform the Romans of. In consequence Marcellus in the night ordered a transport to be filled with soldiers, and in the night to be towed by a quadrireme to Achradina. These troops were landed near the gate at the fountain of Arethusa, about the fourth watch. Meric upon their landing let them in at the gate according to agreement, and at day break Marcellus made an attack on the walls of Achradina with all his forces. This was done with design not only to draw all the garison of Achradina to the quarter where he was, but also to make those in Nasos abandon their posts, and run thither to repulse this vigorous attack of the Romans. During this alarm, some vessels of burden that had been prepared beforehand sailed round to Nasos, and landed a great many soldiers. These surprizing the posts which were but half guarded, and finding the gates at which the Syracusan troops had lately gone out open, made themselves masters of the place without any difficulty, as it was abandoned by the guards who fled with precipitation. None made a less obstinate defence,



or fled sooner, than the deserters. For as they durst not trust to their own party, they made their escape in the heat of the action. As soon as Marcellus was certain Nasos was taken, his troops masters of one quarter of Achradina, and that Meric had joined them with the body he commanded, he founded a retreat to prevent his troops from plundering the royal treasure, which had been much magnified by fame.

## CHAP.

XXXI.

THE violence of the soldiers being thus suppressed, and the deserters that were in Achradina suffered to escape, the Syracusans, delivered at length from all fear, opened their gates, and sent deputies to Marcellus, to ask nothing further of him, than that he would spare the lives of themselves and their children. Then he called a council of war, to which he even admitted the Syracusans, who had taken refuge in his camp, when they were expelled their city by sedition, and told the deputies, ‘ The injuries  
 ‘ done the Romans, by those who have been masters  
 ‘ of Syracuse for a few years, exceed the benefits she  
 ‘ received from Hiero in the space of fifty. But  
 ‘ most of these injuries had recoiled on the guilty  
 ‘ heads, and they had been punished for their breach  
 ‘ of treaties in a more severe manner than the Ro-  
 ‘ mans could have desired. He had now besieged  
 ‘ Syracuse for three years, not that the Roman peo-  
 ‘ ple aimed at reducing it to slavery, but to deliver  
 ‘ it from the captivity in which it was held by the  
 ‘ commanders of the deserters. What the Syracu-  
 ‘ sans ought to have done for themselves was clear-  
 ‘ ly pointed out by their fellow-citizens, who took  
 ‘ refuge in the Roman camp by Meric the Spanish  
 ‘ general, who delivered up the garison, and even  
 ‘ by their own conduct, who, though late, yet at  
 ‘ last wisely resolved to surrender. As for myself,  
 ‘ I look upon the fatigues and dangers I have under-  
 ‘ gone, both by sea and land, before Syracuse, as  
 ‘ sufficiently recompensed by having taken it.’ Then he sent the quæstor with a guard to Nasos to receive  
 and



and preserve the royal treasure, and abandoned the town to be plundered by the soldiers, after having posted guards on the houses of those who had taken refuge in the Roman camp. Then were to be seen many horrid effects of rage and avarice. Among the rest it is related, that in the confusion, which was as great as could be when a city is taken, and the troops disperse for plunder, Archimedes was killed by a soldier who did not know him, as he was attentively drawing some geometrical figures on the sand. Marcellus regretted it extremely, and ordered his corps to be bury'd with great care. Then he made enquiry after his relations, and in honor to the name and memory of so incomparable a man, treated them with great distinction, and gave them a guard for their persons. In this manner was Syracuse taken, and in it so great a booty, as would hardly have been found in Carthage at that time, though she was a match for the Romans in strength. A few days before Syracuse was taken, T. Otacilius sailed with 80 quinqueremes from Lilybæum to Utica, and having entered the port before day, took all the transports loaded with corn. Then he landed, and having ravaged part of the country about Utica, returned to his ships with plunder of all kinds. He returned to Lilybæum three days after he had left it, with 130 transports loaded with booty. The corn he sent immediately to Syracuse. Had not this supply arrived in time, both the conquerors and conquered had been equally distressed by famine, which then began to threaten them.

DURING the same campaign, the Roman generals in Spain, where nothing memorable had happened for almost two years, as both sides had kept on the defensive, without acting any thing in the field, quitted their winter quarters, and united their forces. After having held a council of war, it was unanimously agreed, that after having remained so long in that place, only to prevent Asdrubal from going into Italy, it was time to undertake something that



CHAP. that would put an end to the war in Spain. They  
 XXXII. believed they had force sufficient to effect it, as the  
 winter before they had engaged 30000 Celtiberians  
 to take arms in their favor. Asdrubal son of Gisgo,  
 and Mago, were encamped together about five days  
 march from the Romans. Asdrubal, son of Hamil-  
 car, who had long commanded in Spain, was much  
 nearer. The Roman generals, conceiving they had  
 troops sufficient to overpower him, determined to  
 fall on him first. All they were afraid of was, that  
 the other Asdrubal and Mago, terrified by his over-  
 throw, would retire to inaccessible defiles and moun-  
 tains, and thereby protract the war. Therefore they  
 thought their best method would be, to divide their  
 forces, and at once apply themselves to the whole  
 war in Spain. P. Cornelius, with two thirds of the  
 Romans and allies, was to march against Mago and  
 Asdrubal. Cn. Cornelius, with a third part of the  
 old army, and the Celtiberians, was to march against  
 Asdrubal, son of Barcas. Both divisions filed off  
 together, preceded by the Celtiberians, and encamp-  
 ed in sight of the enemy at Anitorgis<sup>a</sup>, with the ri-  
 ver betwixt them. Here Cn. Scipio staid with the  
 troops we have already observed were assigned him,  
 and Publius proceeded to the theatre appointed for  
 him to act on.

CHAP. ASDRUBAL perceived immediately that there  
 XXXIII. were but few Romans in Cn. Scipio's camp, and that  
 his whole dependence was on the Celtiberian auxilia-  
 ries. He was well acquainted with the perfidy of all  
 the barbarians, among whom he had long made war,  
 but especially with that of the Celtiberian cantons.  
 As both camps were full of Spaniards, he found no  
 difficulty to get speech of them, and in some private  
 conferences engaged the Celtiberian chiefs, for a  
 great reward, to retire with their troops. These  
 men did not think they committed a heinous crime,  
 as they were not required to turn their arms against  
 the Romans. Besides, they were to get as much mo-  
 ney for not fighting, as they could have done by

<sup>a</sup> Unknown.



fighting. Moreover, the private soldiers were well CHAP.  
 pleased with enjoying rest, and the pleasure of re- XXXIII.  
 turning home, and seeing their relations. Thus the  
 multitude were as easily prevailed on as their officers,  
 and they had nothing to apprehend from the Ro-  
 mans, whose small number made them unable to stop  
 them by force. Thus ought all Roman generals to  
 be constantly on their guard, and the fate of the  
 two Scipios be a lesson to them, not to confide in  
 auxiliaries farther, than when their own troops are  
 superior to them in number and strength. The Cel-  
 tiberians all of a sudden decamped and retired, with-  
 out giving any other answer to the Romans, who  
 asked them a reason, and conjured them to stay, than  
 that they were called away by a war in their own  
 country. When Scipio saw that he could neither  
 detain his allies by entreaties nor force, that without  
 them he was not a match for the enemy, neither was  
 it in his power to join his brother, he resolved to re-  
 tire as fast as he could, which was the readiest and  
 safest course he could take in his present circumstan-  
 ces, and in particular carefully to avoid fighting in  
 the plains with the enemy, who having passed the ri-  
 ver pursued close at his heels.

AT the same time P. Scipio was as much afraid, CHAP.  
 but in greater danger from a new enemy, who harass- XXXIV.  
 ed him exceedingly. It was young Masinissa, who  
 was then in alliance with the Carthaginians, and  
 whom an amity with the Romans afterwards render-  
 ed very famous and powerful. On Scipio's arrival,  
 this young prince met him with his Numidian caval-  
 ry, and harassed him night and day so incessantly,  
 that he not only cut off such of his Romans as were  
 dispersed to fetch wood and water, but even rode up  
 to their very entrenchments, and throwing himself a-  
 midst their guards, caused tumult and disorder in all  
 their quarters. In the night he frequently rode up to  
 their gates and rampart, all of a sudden, and alarm-  
 ed them in such a manner, that they were exempted  
 from fear and trouble in no place, nor at any time.



CHAP. XXXIV. Hereby he obliged them to keep within their lines, and cut them off from all the necessaries of life as much as if they had been under a regular blockade. It even seemed that they would be invested more closely, when Indibilis, who, it was said, was coming with 7000 Sueffetani<sup>a</sup>, should join the Carthaginians. Scipio, who was a cautious and prudent captain, reduced by necessity, took a very rash step. He resolved to march in the night to meet Indibilis, and to give him battle wherever he should find him. Leaving therefore a weak garison in his camp, under the command of T. Fonteius, his lieutenant general, he set out about midnight, met the enemy, and charged them. They fought in small parties, not having time to form themselves. However, the Romans had the advantage in these tumultuary skirmishes. But the Numidian horse, from whom the Roman general imagined he had concealed his march, suddenly charged him in the flanks, and struck terror into his troops. He had scarce attacked this fresh enemy, when a third fell upon him. The Carthaginian generals, who had followed the Romans, charged them in rear as they were fighting. Thus invested on all sides, they knew not whom to face, nor where to force a passage. As their general was fighting with great bravery, exhorting his troops, and throwing himself wherever the greatest danger was, he was run into the side with a lance. A body of the enemy, who in the form of a wedge, had attacked that body of Romans which surrounded Scipio, no sooner saw him fall dead from his horse, than with shouts of joy they run through the whole battle, crying out, that the Roman general was slain. These words being spread all over the field, were a presage to the Romans of their defeat, and to the enemies of victory. The former having lost their general, immediately begun to fly. Though it was easy for them to open themselves a passage between the Numidians and the light armed troops, yet they found it difficult to escape from so many cavalry and foot,



who were almost as swift as horse. A greater number of them were killed in the flight than in the battle, and not a single man of them had escaped, if night had not come on.

THE Carthaginian generals made as much advantage of their victory as they could. For, scarce allowing their troops the necessary rest, they marched with all expedition to Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar, in hopes that in conjunction with him they would be able to vanquish the Romans entirely. As soon as they arrived here, both generals and soldiers expressed great joy on their late victory, congratulating each other on having cut off so great a general with all his army, and expecting with confidence another victory equally signal. The news of this great defeat had not so much as reached the army of Scipio, but a certain mournful silence among them was a tacit presage of what had happened; as it is very common for men to have some forewarnings of impending misfortunes. The general himself, besides being deserted by his allies, and the reinforcements his enemies had received, from reflection and reasoning, was more inclined to fear the defeat, than hope to the contrary. ‘How, said he to himself, could Mago and Asdrubal have brought their armies thither without fighting, but by having ended the war on their side? Whence has it happened that my brother has not opposed their march, or followed close on their heels? If he could not prevent the junction of their two armies, he might surely unite his forces with mine?’ In this cruel perplexity he thought his safest course at present would be to retire as fast as possible. Accordingly, next night he marched a considerable way without the enemy’s knowledge, who did not make any motion after him. But at day-break having perceived the enemy were gone, they detached their Numidians to follow them with all possible speed. They came up with them before night, and attacked them sometimes in rear, and sometimes in the flanks. In consequence they

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they begun to face about, and defend themselves as well as they could. Scipio all the time exhorting them to fight retreating, that the enemies foot might not come up.

CHAP. BUT by sometimes marching, and sometimes  
xxxvi. halting to defend themselves, they made but little  
way; so that Scipio, seeing night approached, recalled his troops from fighting, and withdrew to a little rising ground, not indeed sufficiently safe, especially for troops in the greatest consternation, but by it's height less exposed than any place round about. Here he placed his baggage and cavalry in the middle, surrounded by their infantry, who with ease repulsed the attacks of the Numidians. But when the three generals with three armies advanced all together, and Scipio saw, that he would not be able by force of arms to oppose them, without an entrenchment, he began to look about, and contrive means to throw one round him: but the eminence was so naked, and the ground so dry, that he could neither find wood to cut down for the palisade, nor earth to raise a rampart, draw a ditch in, or fit for raising any other work. Besides, the acclivity was so small, that there was nothing hard or steep to prevent them from ascending, the sloping from the top was so insensible. However, to oppose them with the appearance of an entrenchment, they made a rampart of the usual height with their packsaddles, with their burdens ty'd to them; and where they wanted harness, they piled up all kinds of baggage. When the Carthaginians arrived, they easily ascended the eminence; but the sight of this new kind of entrenchment stop'd them in amaze. Their officers called out to them, 'Why do you stop? Why do not you remove and pull down those ridiculous obstacles, scarce strong enough to stop women and boys?' Thus did their generals reproach them with an air of contempt. But yet they found great trouble to leap over, or remove those carriages, and to untie the packsaddles with the baggage heaped upon them. But after much time they



they removed them, and made way for the soldiers at several places; so that the camp was entered on all sides at once. This handful of terrified men made but little resistance against a victorious enemy so much superior in numbers. However many of the soldiers, having escaped to the neighboring forests, got to the camp of P. Scipio, which was commanded by his lieutenant T. Fonteius. Some authors say, that Cn. Scipio was killed on the eminence at the first attack: Others, that he escaped to a little fort near the camp. When the enemy with all their efforts could not force open the gates they set fire to them, and by this means took it. They killed the general and all that were within it. On the 29th day after the death of his brother was Cn. Scipio killed in the 7th year after his arrival in Spain. All Spain was as much afflicted for their death, as the Romans themselves, with this difference, that the loss of the army, the alienation of the province, and the misfortune of the commonwealth, had a share in the grief of his fellow citizens: But the Spaniards lamented them only for their own sakes and the loss of two so great captains. However they regretted the loss of Cneius most, because he had commanded longer among them, and had given them the first proofs of Roman justice and moderation.

THOUGH by the defeat of the two armies, Spain seemed to be lost, yet the valor of one man retrieved the embarrassed affairs of that province. There was a Roman knight in the army, Marcius son of Septimus, an enterprizing youth, whose courage and capacity were much superior to the condition in which he was born. He had strengthened a noble disposition by the example and instructions of Scipio, whose pupil in the art of war he had been for many years. By collecting together the remains of the routed troops, and drawing some out of the garrisons, he had formed a tolerable army, with which he joined T. Fonteius Scipio's lieutenant. However, this knight was so much more in credit and esteem with



CHAP. with the soldiers, that after they were entrenched on  
XXXVII. the other side the Ebro, and resolved to assemble a  
military comitia for the election of a general, they  
relieved one another on their guards and posts, till  
they had all given their suffrages, and unanimously  
confer'd the chief command on Marcius. All their  
time then, which was very little, was employed in  
fortifying their camp and conveying provisions to it.  
The soldiers obeyed all their orders with the greatest  
diligence, and without the least dejection. But as  
soon as they heard that Asdrubal son of Gisgo had  
passed the Ebro and approached in order to root out  
the Remains of the Roman army, and saw the signal  
of battle given by their new generals, calling to mind  
the captains they had been commanded by a little  
before, under whose prudent conduct and with whose  
well disciplined troops they were wont with confidence  
to march out to battle, they all of a sudden wept and  
beat their heads. Some extended their hands to hea-  
ven, accusing the Gods; others lay stretched on the  
ground, invoking their former generals by name.  
It was impossible to silence their lamentations, though  
the centurions went round their companies to console  
them, and Marcius himself used mild rebukes. 'Why,  
' said he, do you shed useless tears like women, ra-  
' ther than rouse your courage to defend yourselves  
' and the commonwealth? Do not suffer the death of  
' your generals to pass unrevenged.' They were in  
this disposition when on a sudden they heard the sound  
of the enemy's trumpets, and their shouts; for by  
this time they were near their entrenchments. Their  
grief turned immediately to rage, and in a transport  
of fury and madness they took up their arms and  
ran to the gates. Here they attacked the Carthagini-  
ans, who were advancing in security and disorder.  
This unexpected charge struck terror into the enemy,  
' who wondered from whence so many troops could  
' have started up so suddenly after the destruction of  
' their army: How troops defeated and put to flight,  
' could be so bold and confident: What general  
' could



could have supply'd the place of the two slaughter- CHAP.  
ed Scipios : Who commanded the camp, or who xxxvii.  
had given them the signal to battle.' Whilst these  
unexpected incidents kept them in suspense, they re-  
tired at first quite astonished ; but when the Romans  
made a more vigorous charge they betook themselves  
to open flight. And in truth there had a great num-  
ber of the fugitives been slaughtered, or the pursuit  
of the Romans had proved rash and dangerous to  
themselves, had not Marcius sounded a retreat very  
speedily. They were so animated, that he could not  
stop them till he laid hold of the front ensigns, and  
drew several back with his own hand. At length  
he brought them back to their lines breathing nothing  
but slaughter and blood. When the Carthaginians,  
who at first had been driven in a panic from the Ro-  
man entrenchments, saw none pursuing them, they  
imagined fear had stopt their enemy, and retired with  
an air of contempt, and at great leisure to their camp.  
They were equally negligent in guarding it. For  
though the Romans were so near them, they still  
considered them only as the remains of the two ar-  
mies they had destroyed a few days before. When  
Marcius had notice by his scouts, that all the enemy's  
posts were ill guarded, he formed a design, which  
seemed rather rash than bold ; this was in his turn to  
attack the enemy in their lines. In fact he judged  
with reason that it would be easier to attack the single  
camp of Asdrubal, than to defend his own against  
three armies when they had joined again. At the same  
time he considered that if this enterprize succeeded,  
he would thereby reinstate the affairs of Spain, and  
if it did not, his bold attempt of attacking the enemy  
would preserve him from being despised.

BUT to prevent the surprize of his troops and CHAP.  
the darkness of the night from occasioning disorder in xxxviii.  
the execution of an enterprize little suiting their pre-  
sent situation, he thought it necessary to prepare them  
by some warm exhortations. Accordingly having  
assembled them the orator thus began. ' If, fellow  
soldiers,



CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

‘ soldiers, you will consider the filial affection I had  
 ‘ for our common parents, our late generals, during  
 ‘ their lives, and the veneration I retain for them af-  
 ‘ ter they are dead, and the present condition of us  
 ‘ all, you will easily credit me when I say, that if  
 ‘ my office is honorable, it is also attended with  
 ‘ anxious and distracting cares. For nothing but  
 ‘ anxiety for your preservation could make me in-  
 ‘ sensible to grief for their loss, or make me so much  
 ‘ myself, as to enjoy the least repose for my afflicted  
 ‘ mind. I alone am obliged, which is a very hard  
 ‘ task in my present affliction, to mind the interest  
 ‘ of you all; at the same time, when I am con-  
 ‘ triving means for preserving to my country the  
 ‘ remains of these two armies, I cannot avoid being  
 ‘ overwhelm’d with grief for the death of our great  
 ‘ generals. The remembrance of their merit is still  
 ‘ present, and bitterly torments me. The shades of  
 ‘ the two Scipio’s fill me with distracting cares all  
 ‘ day, and in the night disquiet me with frightful  
 ‘ dreams. They often wake me in my sleep; they  
 ‘ sollicit me not to suffer the loss of them, of their  
 ‘ troops and fellow soldiers, invincible in this  
 ‘ country during eight years, nor the loss sustained  
 ‘ by the commonwealth, to pass unavenged. They  
 ‘ exhort me to observe their discipline and pursue  
 ‘ their maxims in making war. As during their  
 ‘ lives no man was more obedient to their orders than  
 ‘ myself, so after their death, I wish you would ap-  
 ‘ prove, as the best, every step which I imagine they  
 ‘ would have taken in the same circumstances. These  
 ‘ heroes are yet alive, their reputation has made them  
 ‘ immortal: Do not then mourn, do not shed tears  
 ‘ for them as if dead, but as often as their memory  
 ‘ recurs to you, fly to battle, as if you saw them ani-  
 ‘ mating you, as if they gave you the signal. With-  
 ‘ out question it was this image, this remembrance  
 ‘ that animated you yesterday, when you fought so  
 ‘ gallantly, and effectually convinced the enemy that  
 ‘ Roman bravery had not expired with the Scipios,



and that the vigor and valor of that people, who were not overwhelmed by the defeat at Cannæ, would survive fortune's severest blows. Now therefore, since you shew'd such courage of your own accord, I would fain try, how gallantly you would behave in an expedition formed by your general. For when I founded a retreat yesterday while you were hotly pursuing the disordered enemy, it was not my design to depress your ardor, but to reserve it for a greater harvest of glory, and for a more favorable opportunity; when you, ready prepared and your swords drawn in your hands might fall on the enemy, in security, unarmed, nay even asleep. My hopes of success in this enterprize are not rashly founded, but upon good reasons. For in truth, should any one ask you, how you, who were but a handful of conquered troops, defended your lines against such numbers of victorious enemies; you would make no other reply, than that apprehensive of what actually happened, you had secured yourselves by strong works, and were ready prepared and on your guard. It is certainly fact, that men, whose success has raised them above fear, are the least secure; because negligence leaves them open and exposed. At this time our enemies are less afraid of nothing, than that we, who were lately besieged and attacked, should in our turn assault their entrenchments. Let us then boldly execute what they believe we never will attempt. Even the apparent difficulty of the enterprize will facilitate the execution of it. I will lead you on silently at the third watch. I am informed, that they have posted neither sentinels nor guards. As soon as you have sent up a shout at their gates, at the first attack you shall be masters of their lines. Then, while they are asleep, in consternation at the sudden alarm, unarmed and in their beds, shall you complete that slaughter, from which you were restrained with so much difficulty yesterday. I am sensible the undertaking will seem bold. In extreme misfortunes,



CHAP.

XXXVIII.

fortunes, and when people have little to hope, the  
 most daring counsels are the safest. For, if you  
 delay to seize the opportunity the moment it offers,  
 it is lost in the twinkling of an eye, and you in  
 vain regret letting it escape. There is now one  
 army near us, and other two not far off. You  
 have reason to hope success, if you attack the first  
 without delay. You have already had proof both  
 of their and your own strength. If you delay one  
 day, and sit down contented with the reputation  
 acquired in yesterday's sally, all their generals and  
 all their forces will be joined. We shall then have  
 the united force of three captains and three armies  
 to sustain, a force which the brave Cn. Scipio was  
 not able to resist with all his forces entire. As our  
 unfortunate generals perished, by dividing and se-  
 parating their armies, in the same manner may the  
 enemy be ruined. We have no other way of  
 maintaining the war. Let us, therefore, never  
 look for an opportunity beyond what the approach-  
 ing night affords us. Retire now, under the  
 auspices of heaven, and refresh yourselves, that  
 you may attack the enemy's entrenchments with the  
 same vigor and courage, that you defended your  
 own.' This new enterprize proposed by a new  
 general, was heard with joy, and the more daring it  
 was, the more it charmed them. They spent the rest  
 of the day in preparing their arms and refreshing  
 their bodies. They rested a great part of the night  
 and set out at the fourth watch.

CHAP.

XXXIX.

ABOUT six miles beyond the nearest Carthagi-  
 nian camp lay another body of their troops. A deep  
 valley covered with trees, separated the two. By a  
 stratagem worthy of Hannibal, Marcius posted a  
 Roman cohort with some cavalry in the middle of  
 this wood. Having thus secured the communication  
 between the two armies, he marched his troops in  
 silence against the camp that was next to him. As  
 he found neither guards at the gates nor sentinels on  
 the rampart, he entered it, without any resistance,



as if it had been his own. Then a charge was sounded and a shout set up. Some killed the enemy half asleep; some set fire to the huts covered with dry stubble; and others seized the gates, to cut off their escape. The fire, cries and slaughter deprived them of all sense, and prevented them from hearing or taking any salutary measures. Some fell unarmed among troops of armed enemies; some ran to the gates, while others seeing all the avenues occupy'd, leap'd over the entrenchment. Whoever escap'd fled directly towards the other camp; but running headlong into the ambush of a Roman cohort and some cavalry, they were surrounded and killed to a man. And though even some had escaped, the Romans marched with such expedition from the nearest camp to the next, that it was impossible for the news of the defeat to have reached it. As this was more distant from the enemy, he found more negligence and carelessness there than in the other. Some parties had gone out to forage; the arms were laid up in the guard rooms; the soldiers unarmed, either sitting on the grass, or walking to and fro before the gates and entrenchments. In this negligent and secure condition were they attacked by the Romans flushed with victory, and reeking with the blood of the former slaughter. So that they could not prevent them from entering the camp. However on the first shout and alarm, those within the entrenchment ran in crowds from all quarters of the camp to arms, and a smart battle ensued. The action would have continued longer; but perceiving the Roman shields covered with blood, they hence concluded the defeat of the other army and were seized with a panic. Their terror made them fly, and they fled where they could, leaving the field covered with their dead, and the enemy masters of their camp. Thus in the space of one night and a day Marcius took two camps. Claudius, who translated the Acilian annals from Greek into Latin, says, that 37000 enemies were slain, and 1800 taken prisoners with a vast booty, in particular a silver shield



CHAP. that weighed 138 pounds, with the portrait of Asdru-  
 XXXIX. bal, son of Barcas, engraved on it. Valerius Antias  
 says that 7000 were killed in taking the first camp, and in the next, where Asdrubal sallied out and fought, 10000 were slain and 4300 taken prisoners. Piso says, that when Mago pursued the Romans as they gave way, 5000 of his troops were killed by the cohorts that lay in ambush. However they all speak much to the honor of Marcius. Besides his real merit, they mention some miracles that happened to him. As he was haranguing his troops a flame issued out of his head without his feeling it, and greatly terrified the soldiers around him. This shield, with Asdrubal's portrait engraved on it, called Marcius's, remained as a monument of this victory over the Carthaginians, till the burning of the capitol. After this Spain enjoy'd a short interval of tranquillity, as neither side durst risk a decisive action, after the defeats they had mutually received.

CHAP. DURING these transactions in Spain, Marcellus,  
 XL. after having taken Syracuse, and settled all other affairs in Sicily with so much uprightness and integrity, as added much to his reputation and to the majesty of the Roman people, set out for Rome with all the decorations, paintings and statues, with which Syracuse abounded. They were indeed the spoils of enemies and justly purchased in war; but this was the beginning of that taste which the Romans acquired for the Grecian arts; of that licentiousness which occasioned the spoiling of all places sacred and profane, which was afterwards so commonly practised, and at last even on the Roman Gods and temples, the first that was stript being that very temple which Marcellus had so finely decorated. For strangers used to visit the temples dedicated by this general at the gate Capena, to see the fine pictures and statues he placed in them, and very few of which are now to be seen. Embassadors came to him almost from all the states of Sicily. The terms granted them were different according to the shares they had in the  
 war.



war. Such as had revolted, and returned to their alliance before the taking of Syracuse, were received and treated as faithful allies. But those, whom after that time fear had compell'd to surrender, were treated as conquered enemies, and the conqueror imposed terms upon them at his pleasure. The Romans had still some remains of war, about Agrigentum, to exterminate Hanno and Epicydes, who had been generals in the former, and a third new captain whom Hannibal sent in room of Hippocrates. He was of Lybo-phoenician extraction, born in Hippo<sup>a</sup>. His countrymen called him Mutines. He was an enterprising man, and having been trained up under Hannibal, was a perfect master of all the arts of war. Hanno and Epicydes gave him the Numidian auxiliaries, with which he over-run the enemy's territories, and appeared every where to succor and preserve his allies in their allegiance in such a manner as made him famous all over Sicily, and the states in the Carthaginian interest had their sole dependence upon him. In consequence the Carthaginian and Syracusan generals, who at that time were shut up in Agrigentum, trusting to the conduct and boldness of Mutines, ventured to quit the city, and pitched their camp at the river Himera. As soon as Marcellus got notice of this, he immediately set out and encamped within four miles of them, with an intention to wait and see what they meditated or what they would undertake. But Mutines gave him neither time nor opportunity to deliberate; for passing the river he attacked the pro-consul's lines with great fury and tumult. Next day he fought the Romans on fair ground and drove them within their lines. But being called away, by a mutiny of the Numidians, 300 of whom had gone to Heraclea of Minos, he went thither to appease and bring them back. At his departure, it is said, he earnestly advised the other generals not to fight in his absence. This highly offended them both, but in particular Hanno, who was already jealous of Muti-

<sup>a</sup> In *Proper Asia*.



nes's glory. ' Shall a mongrel African, said he, prescribe to me, who am commissioned by the senate and people of Carthage !' He thus prevailed with Epicydes, who was for deferring battle. So they passed the river and drew up in battalia. ' For, ' added he, if we stay for Mutines, and we then get the victory, all the glory will be his.'

CHAP.

XLV.



MARCELLUS was highly enraged to think that he, who had repulsed Hannibal from Nola, when flushed with his victory at Cannæ, should yield to enemies whom he had already vanquished both by sea and land. He therefore ordered his soldiers immediately to arm, and bring forth the ensigns. As he was forming his lines ten Numidian troopers came at a gallop from the enemy to inform him, that their countrymen (induced in the first place by that mutiny, in which 300 of them had gone to Heraclea, and then by seeing their proper general purposely sent out of the way against the day when the battle was to be fought by the other two who envy'd his glory) would not fight. This deceitful nation kept their promise faithfully. In consequence, the news being spread through the ranks, that the enemy were deserted by their cavalry, whom the Romans were most afraid of, it animated the latter exceedingly. At the same time the enemy were sadly terrified, not only for want of the troops in whom their greatest force consisted, but also for fear their own cavalry should fall on them while they were engaged. Accordingly the action did not continue long, the first shout and attack decided it. The Numidians, who had remained unactive on the wings during the battle, when they saw their own side run, fled a little way with them. But perceiving them all flying towards Agrigentum, they turned off to the neighboring cities for fear of a siege. Many thousands of the enemy were either killed or made prisoners. Eight elephants were taken. This was the last battle Marcellus fought in Sicily. The year was already on the point of expiring. Wherefore the senate ordered P. Cornelius the prætor to



write to the consuls before Capua, desiring, that while Hannibal was at a distance, and they were in no great danger before that city, one of them, if they thought it convenient, should come to Rome to preside at the election of Magistrates. On receipt of the letters the consuls agreed between themselves that Claudius should go to hold the elections, and Fulvius stay at Capua. Claudius chose Cn. Fulv. Centumalus and P. Sulpicius Galba, son of Servius, who had never born any curule magistracy. Then were the prætors chosen, L. Corn. Lentulus, M. Corn. Cethegus, C. Sulpicius and C. Calpurnius Piso. Piso had the jurisdiction of the city, Sulpicius of Sicily, Cethegus of Apulia, and Lentulus of Sardinia. The consuls were continued a year longer in their command.

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## B O O K XXVI.

*Hannibal encamps upon the Anio within three miles of Rome, and rides himself up to the gate Capena under a guard of 2000 horse, to view the situation of the city. Both armies march out in order of battle three days successively, but are hindered from engaging by a storm; but as soon as they return to their camp, it clears up. Capua taken by Q. Fulvius and Sp. Claudius. The principal Capuans poison themselves. As their senators stand ty'd to stakes in order to be beheaded, the pro-consul Q. Fulvius receives letters from the Roman senate ordering them to be spared. Fulvius puts them in his bosom, orders the sentence to be executed and finishes the execution before he would read them. When a motion is made to the people in the comitia, about sending a general to Spain, and no body would accept that command, P. Scipio, son of Publius, who had been killed there, declares he would, and is commissioned for that province by the unanimous suffrages of the people. He takes New Carthage in one day in the 24th year of his age. It is believed that he was descended of some God, because, after he had put on the manly gown, he was daily in the capital, and a serpent was seen very often in his mother's bed-chamber. This book likewise contains the events in Sicily, the alliance made with the Ætolians, the war against the Acarnanians and Philip king of Macedon.*



## CHAP.

I.

Cn. Fulv.  
Centuma-  
lus, P. Sulp.  
Galba, con-  
suls.  
Y. of R. 541.  
B. J. C. 211.

**C**N. FULV. CENTUMALUS and P. Sulp. Galba entered upon their office on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March, and having assembled the senate in the capitol, advised with them about the state of the commonwealth, the operations of the war, the provinces and armies. The consuls of the preceding year, Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, were continued in their command, and were allotted the troops then under their command. Besides a clause was added expressly prohibiting them to remove from the siege of Capua till they had taken it. The Romans were extremely solicitous about taking this city, not out of resentment, which they had more reason to bear to Capua than any other state; but from a persuasion, that as this noble and powerful city had drawn several states to revolt, so the recovering of it would be an effectual means to incline them to return to their ancient allegiance to Rome. Two prætors of the former year, M. Junius in Hetruria, and P. Sempronius in Gaul, were continued in their provinces and in the command of the two legions they had with them. M. Marcellus was also ordered, in quality of pro-consul, to exterminate the remains of the war in Sicily with the army under his command. If it wanted to be recruited, he was ordered to make draughts out of the legions commanded by P. Cornelius, the pro-prætor of Sicily, provided he pitched on none of those men, to whom the senate had refused permission to return to their native country till the end of the war. C. Sulpicius, whose lot it was to go to Sicily, had the two legions under P. Cornelius assigned him, and the remains of Cn. Fulvius's army, which had been so shamefully defeated and put to flight the preceding year. The senate ordered that they should serve as long as those that had fled from Cannæ. An additional mark of disgrace was put upon them, that they should never winter in towns, nor build their winter barracks within less distance than ten miles of any town. L. Cornelius in Sardinia was to have the two

legions



legions commanded by Q. Mucius, and if they wanted to be recruited, the consuls were ordered to levy men for the purpose. T. Otacilius and M. Valerius were ordered to protect the coasts of Sicily and Greece with the fleets and legions under their command. The fleet destined for Greece consisted of 51 sail with one legion on board; that for Sicily, of 100 ships with two legions. The whole troops with which the war was prosecuted that year by sea and land were 23 legions.

IN the beginning of the year, when Marcus's letters were read, the fathers allowed he had done the state glorious service : But the major part of them took offence at the honorable title of pro-prætor, which he had assumed in writing to the senate, when his command had been confer'd on him neither by the people nor fathers. It was thought a dangerous precedent, for generals to be chosen by the armies ; and that the august authority of elections legally held by the magistrates under the direction of the auspices, should be transfer'd into camps and provinces, where were neither laws nor magistrates, and the bestowing commands abandoned to the rashness of the troops. Some were for having the senate's opinion on it, but it was thought better to defer that, till after the departure of the troopers who had brought Marcus's letters. They sent him back word, that they would take care to send the clothing and provisions he wanted for the army. But they suppressed the title of pro-prætor, that they might not seem beforehand to approve, what they had refer'd to an after deliberation. When the couriers were dispatched, the first thing the consuls laid before the fathers, and to which they unanimously agreed, was to apply to the plebeian tribunes, to move the people as soon as possible, to send a person into Spain to command that army, of which Cn. Scipio had been general. The tribunes were accordingly apply'd to, and the motion made. But another dispute engrossed the people's attention. Cn. Semp. Blæsus, having indicted Cn. Fulvius for the defeat of the army under his

CHAP.

II.



CHAP.

II.

command in Apulia, inveighed against him in the assembly. Many generals, said he, through rashness and inexperience have brought their armies into imminent danger; but Fulvius was the first, who had corrupted his legions by all kinds of vices, before he had delivered them up to the enemy. In consequence it might justly be said, that they had been ruined before they saw the enemy, and were vanquished by their own general, not by Hannibal. When the people gave their suffrages, they did not sufficiently examine the qualifications of those to whom they confided the command of armies. Mark the difference between the delinquent and Sempronius. When the latter was placed at the head of an army of slaves, he soon, by his strict discipline and wise orders, made his whole troops forget their birth and condition, become the defence of their allies and the terror of the enemy. They had rescued Cumæ, Beneventum and other cities out of Hannibal's clutches, and restored them to the Roman people. But Fulvius had instilled all the vices of slaves into a Roman army well born and ingenuously educated. In consequence by his means they had become turbulent and unruly amongst the allies; and such dastards and cowards before the enemy, that they could not sustain, not only the first charge, but not so much as the first shout. After all, it was not to be wondered, that the soldiers did not maintain their ground in battle, as their general fled first of all. It was rather matter of surprize, that any of them had been killed in their posts, and that they had not all accompany'd Fulvius when he fled in consternation. C. Flaminius, L. Paullus, L. Postumius, Cn. and P. Scipio had chose rather to die in the field of battle than abandon their armies in danger. Fulvius was almost the only man, who had brought to Rome the news of his army's defeat. Was it not a shame, that the troops, which had fled at Cannæ should be transported into Sicily, without permission to return, till the war should be terminated in Italy,

and



‘ and that the same punishment should lately have  
 ‘ been decreed against Fulvius’s troops, whilst the  
 ‘ rashness of their general, who was most in fault,  
 ‘ should pass unpunished? Shall he be suffered to  
 ‘ grow white in the stews, where he already had  
 ‘ spent his youth, while his soldiers, who were no  
 ‘ otherwise in fault, but in being like their general,  
 ‘ were banished as it were, and deprived of all mili-  
 ‘ tary honors? Is liberty at Rome so unequally  
 ‘ shared between rich and poor, men of high and  
 ‘ men of low rank and interest!’

THE delinquent transferred the guilt from him-  
 self upon the troops. ‘ When my soldiers, said he,  
 ‘ turbulently demanded to be led to battle, I drew  
 ‘ them out, not that day they desired, because it was  
 ‘ near evening, but the next; and though the time  
 ‘ was more convenient, the ground more advantage-  
 ‘ ous, and they regularly formed, yet they were not  
 ‘ able to sustain either the reputation or strength of  
 ‘ the enemy. When they fled with precipitation, I  
 ‘ was carried away with the rout, as Varro had been  
 ‘ at the battle of Cannæ, and several other generals  
 ‘ elsewhere. What benefit could have derived to  
 ‘ the public by my resisting alone, unless my death  
 ‘ would have been a recompence for her loss? It  
 ‘ was not for want of provisions, by uncautiously  
 ‘ chusing a disadvantageous ground, or by not hav-  
 ‘ ing reconnoitred the field before I marched out,  
 ‘ that I was defeated. But by open force, by arms,  
 ‘ and in a pitched battle. Neither the courage of my  
 ‘ own troops, nor of the enemy, were in my power,  
 ‘ but each of them was absolute master of his own  
 ‘ disposition. My men were cowards, and the ene-  
 ‘ my bold and intrepid.’ The trial lasted two sit-  
 tings, and it was proposed to fine him. But when  
 witnesses were examined at a third, where, besides  
 being loaded with all kinds of infamous reflections,  
 many testified on oath, that the terror and flight be-  
 gun with the prætor himself; that the troops, seeing  
 themselves abandoned by their general, and who could  
 not

CHAP.

III.



CHAP. not imagine he expressed so much fear without a good  
 III. cause, then turned their backs ; the assembly was so  
 enraged, that they cried out to prosecute him for  
 treason. This gave occasion to a fresh debate. For  
 when the tribune said, that though it was proposed to  
 fine him at the two former sittings, he would now at the  
 third prosecute him on a capital indictment, the criminal  
 appealed to the other tribunes. But when they replied,  
 that they would not hinder their colleague from ex-  
 erting the power he had by immemorial custom of  
 their ancestors, to prosecute either on express statutes,  
 or custom, and try him who was a private person,  
 either for a penal trespass, or a capital crime ; Sem-  
 pronius declared that he prosecuted Cn. Fulvius  
 for treason, and desired that C. Calpurnius, the city  
 prætor, would assemble the comitia by centuries a-  
 gainst a fixed day to try him. Then the delinquent  
 try'd another resource, to get his brother Q. Fulvius,  
 who was then very famous, and in high esteem for  
 his exploits, and on the point of making himself  
 master of Capua, to be present at the trial. Q. Ful-  
 vius wrote very moving letters to the senate to ob-  
 tain leave to be present at the trial, but the fathers re-  
 fused to grant his request, because the service of the  
 public absolutely required his presence at Capua. So  
 before the day of assembly, Cn. Fulvius retired into  
 voluntary banishment to Tarquinii. The people sen-  
 tenced him to the exile he had chosen.

CHAP. WHILE these things passed at Rome, the  
 IV. whole force of the war was bent against Capua.  
 Yet it was rather blocked up than besieged, and the  
 slaves and commonalty could neither endure the fa-  
 mine, nor any person escape the sentinels to carry an  
 account to Hannibal ; so strictly were all the avenues  
 to it guarded. At last a Numidian was found, who,  
 taking letters to Hannibal, undertook to escape safe.  
 He passed through the Roman camp in the night.  
 This success emboldened the Capuans to try the ef-  
 fects of a general sally, while they had any strength  
 remaining. They had the advantage in several skir-  
 mishes



mishes with their cavalry, but their foot were always beaten. But the Romans were not so much overjoyed when they got the better, as they were vexed that they should at all be worsted by an enemy blocked up, and in a manner taken. At length they fell on an artful expedient to supply their defects in strength. They chose out of all the legions the most nimble and light bodied youth, to whom they gave shorter shields than the horse, and seven javelins apiece four foot long; their iron points were the same with those on the lances of the light horsemen. Each trooper was to carry one of these foot-soldiers behind him, accustom them to sit on horseback, to mount and dismount with agility, whenever the signal was given. When by daily exercise they were able to do it with sufficient nimbleness and intrepidity, they marched into the plain, which lay in the middle between their lines and the city, to engage the Capuan cavalry, who were there ready drawn up in order of battle. As soon as they came within throw of a dart, the Roman light armed foot dismounted. Then a body of infantry, which sprung from the horse, suddenly attacked the enemy's cavalry, and poured in showers of javelins upon them one after another. They threw them indifferently against men and horses, and wounded many of both. However, this new and unforeseen attack occasioned a very great consternation; and the Romans charging vigorously while the enemy was in this panic, drove them with great slaughter to their very gates. By this means the Roman army became superior in cavalry. And this was the original of the velites among the legions. The author of this device of intermixing foot with the horse, is said to have been Q. Navius a centurion, for which the general heaped many marks of distinction on him.

CHAP.

IV.

IN this posture were affairs at Capua, while Hannibal was perplexed between his desire to make himself master of the citadel of Tarentum, and to preserve Capua. But at length his regard for Capua prevailed, as he saw the attention of all his allies and enemies

CHAP.

V.



CHAP. enemies fixed on it, as a lesson whereby to judge  
 v. what consequence, good or bad, their revolt from  
 the Romans would be attended with. Accordingly, leaving a great part of his baggage in Bruttium, and his heavy armed troops, he marched into Campania with the flower of his horse and foot, which could move with the greatest expedition. However fast he marched, he was followed by 33 elephants. He encamped in a covered valley behind mount Tifata, which commands Capua. On his arrival he took a fort called Calatia, after having driven the guard out of it. Then he turned against the besiegers, having sent notice beforehand to the Capuans to be ready to sally out at all their gates at once, as soon as he should attack the Roman lines. As the Romans were not apprized of this, they were terribly alarmed, when the Carthaginian on one side attacked them, and on the other all the Capuan horse and foot, and the Punic garison commanded by Bostar and Hanno. However, that they might not, by running in consternation all to the same place, leave the rest defenceless, their generals divided their command. Appius marched against the Capuans, and Fulvius opposed Hannibal; Claud. Nero the pro-prætor was posted with the horse belonging to the sixth legion, on the road leading to Sueffula, and C. Fulvius Flaccus, a lieutenant general, with the allies cavalry near the river Volturnus. The battle was begun not only with the usual shout and alarm, but beside the noise of men, clashing of arms, and neighing of horses, with so great founding of trumpets by a multitude of Capuans, unfit for fighting, posted on their walls, that made as great a noise as is usual at eclipses of the moon in the dead of night, and drew the attention of the combatants. Appius with ease repulsed the Capuans from his lines: but Hannibal and his Carthaginians, on the other side, attacked Fulvius with greater vigor. The sixth legion was broke, and through them a battalion of Spaniards and three elephants penetrated to the Roman lines. They had broke



broke through the centre of the Roman army, and were divided between hope and fear, desirous to break into the camp, and apprehending they might be cut off from the rest of their army. When Fulvius perceived the disorder of that legion, and the danger his camp was in, he exhorted Q. Navius, and the other centurions of the principes, ‘ to fall on, ‘ and cut to pieces that battalion of enemies that was ‘ fighting under the rampart. Our all is in the ex- ‘ tremest danger : we must either give way to them, ‘ and suffer them to break into our camp with more ‘ ease than they penetrated through the thickest of ‘ our centre, or we must cut them to pieces at the ‘ foot of our lines. This will not be a difficult matter ; ‘ for they are only a handful separated from the rest ‘ of their army ; and that which seemed a broken ‘ army while the Romans themselves were in conster- ‘ nation, that same army, if it would face both ways, ‘ might take them between two fronts.’ As soon as Navius had received the orders of his general, he took the standard of the second hastati out of the standard-bearer’s hand, threatening to throw it into the middle of the enemy, if they did not follow him with expedition, and begin the attack. Navius was of a large size, and distinguished besides by his armor. He carried the standard very high, that both the Romans and enemy might see it. But when he had advanced to the Spanish colors, they let fly a shower of darts at him from all quarters, and almost their whole corps turned against this single officer. But neither the number of the enemy, nor of the darts, could repel the attack of this brave man.

A LIEUTENANT GENERAL, who commanded the first manipulus of the same legion, named M. Atilius, advanced against the Spanish battalion, and the two marshals of the Roman camp, L. Porcius Licinus, and T. Popilius, bravely defended the rampart, and killed the elephants, as they were endeavoring to pass the ditch, which being filled up by their carcases, made a bridge for the enemy to



to pass. Over them a terrible slaughter was made. On the other side of the camp, the Capuans and Carthaginian garison were already repulsed, and fighting at the gate of Capua, which opened to the Volturnus. The troops did not so much hinder the Romans from breaking in, as the balistæ and scorpions that were placed at the gate, and the missile weapons which kept them at a distance. The impetuosity of the Romans was likewise checked by Ap. Claudius their general being wounded by a dart in the breast under the left shoulder, as he was animating his men before the first line. However they made great slaughter of the enemy before the gate, and drove the rest in confusion into the city. Hannibal also, seeing the Spanish cohort cut to pieces, and the enemy's lines so vigorously defended, quitted the attack, and began to retire, and make his foot march off, covering them with his cavalry, for fear the enemy should pursue, and charge them in the rear. The Roman legions expressed a great desire to pursue; but Flaccus ordered a retreat to be sounded, thinking they had done enough on both sides, when they had made both the Capuans and Hannibal himself sensible, that he was not able to raise the siege, or relieve the besieged. The historians who have related this battle say, that 3000 Capuans and 8000 of Hannibal's army were slain that day, and that 15 Carthaginian and 22 Capuan standards were taken. But by others I find the loss was not so great, and that the alarm was greater than the battle. They say that the Spaniards and Numidians with some elephants broke unexpectedly into the Roman lines, that the elephants ran through the middle of it, overturning the tents, and occasioning a great noise and flight among the carriage horses, that broke their halters. Besides this confusion, Hannibal made use of another stratagem. He sent some soldiers he had that spoke the Latin tongue, to command those in the Roman camp in name of the consul, to shift each man for himself, and fly to the neighboring



ing mountains, since their lines were taken. But that they soon discovered this cheat, made great slaughter of the enemy, and drove the elephants without their rampart with firebrands. This much however is certain, that in whatever manner this battle was begun or ended, it was the last that was fought before Capua surrendered. One Seppius Lesius happened to be chief magistrate of Capua that year, a man of mean extraction and small fortune. As his mother while he was a child was making expiation for some domestic prodigy relating to him, the diviner told her, that the boy would become head of the Capuan republic. It is said, that seeing nothing in her son to induce her to hope for any such thing, she replied, 'When, as you say, my son shall be raised to the first honors, Capua will be reduced to the utmost distress.' These words which she spoke in jest proved true in fact. For when the inhabitants were pressed by famine and by the sword, without the least hopes of relief, those of distinguished rank refused to take the government upon them: so that Lesius, by complaining that the principal men had abandoned and betrayed their native city, was the last of all the Capuans that enjoyed the supreme magistracy.

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BUT Hannibal, seeing all his attempts to draw the enemy to another battle, or to break through their lines into the town, proved ineffectual, determined to quit this unsuccessful enterprize, and to march off, for fear the new consuls should cut off his provisions. After much deliberation, whither he should retire from thence, he at last formed the sudden resolution of marching to attack Rome, the capital of the war. This was the thing he always desired, for neglecting which after the battle of Cannæ, all men in general blamed him, and which he did not himself deny. At this time however he reasoned thus. 'The alarm and consternation my unexpected arrival will occasion, leave me room to hope to make myself master of at least a part of the

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‘ the city. When the Roman generals shall see  
 ‘ their capital in danger, either both, or at least one  
 ‘ will quit the siege of Capua immediately. And if  
 ‘ they divide their forces, they will weaken both,  
 ‘ and thereby either give me or the Capuans an op-  
 ‘ portunity of fighting them to advantage.’ The  
 only thing that troubled him was, lest the Capuans  
 should surrender immediately on his going away.  
 He therefore by presents engaged a Numidian, who  
 was always ready to undertake the most hazardous  
 attempts, to take a letter, and, entering the Roman  
 camp as a deserter, escape to Capua on the other side.  
 His letters were full of exhortations. ‘ He was re-  
 ‘ tiring for their benefit, and to oblige the Roman  
 ‘ generals and armies to raise the siege of Capua to  
 ‘ defend Rome. That they should not lose courage,  
 ‘ for a few day’s patience would free them entirely  
 ‘ from the siege.’ Then he ordered all the boats  
 that could be seized on the Volturno to be brought  
 to a fort, which he had formerly built for a garison.  
 When he was informed that a number sufficient to  
 transport his whole army were got together, he took  
 with him ten days provisions, and marching his  
 troops down to the river, passed it before day-light  
 in the morning. But his designs were discovered by  
 deserters, before he could accomplish them. Fulvi-  
 us dispatched letters to give notice of it to the senate.  
 The news affected persons at Rome very differently,  
 according to their dispositions. The first step taken  
 upon this sudden alarm, was to assemble the senate.  
 P. Cornelius Asina was for neglecting Capua and  
 every thing else, and recalling all their generals with  
 their armies from all parts of Italy, for the defence  
 of the city. Fabius represented, ‘ that it would be  
 ‘ shameful to quit Capua, to be terrified and tossed  
 ‘ about at every nod and menace of the Carthagini-  
 ‘ an. Was it probable, that he who had not dared  
 ‘ to advance to Rome after his victory at Cannæ,  
 ‘ should now entertain hopes of making himself  
 ‘ master of it, after being repulsed from Capua?

His



‘ His view in his present march was not to invest  
 ‘ Rome, but to raise the siege of Capua. Jupiter,  
 ‘ the witness of those treaties which Hannibal had  
 ‘ broken, and the army, that is in the city, will de-  
 ‘ fend Rome.’ A third opinion, which was a medi-  
 um between these two, and which equally guarded  
 against the bad effects of Asina’s fears and Fabius’s  
 intrepidity, proposed by P. Valerius Flaccus, pre-  
 vailed : That was to send an express to the generals  
 before Capua, ‘ for as many forces as were sufficient  
 ‘ for the defence of the city. They knew what troops  
 ‘ Hannibal had with him, and what were necessary  
 ‘ to continue the siege of Capua. If one of the ge-  
 ‘ nerals with a part of the army could be sent to  
 ‘ Rome, the other might continue the blockade;  
 ‘ They should agree between themselves, which of  
 ‘ them should stay, and which should come to Rome,  
 ‘ to prevent their native city from being invested.’  
 When the senate’s order arrived at Capua, the pro-  
 consul Fulvius was obliged to go to Rome as his col-  
 league was bad of his wound. Accordingly he chose  
 out of the three armies 15000 foot and 1000 horse,  
 with which he passed the Volturno. As he knew  
 very well Hannibal had taken his rout by the Latin  
 way, he took his through the municipal towns on  
 the Appian road, after having sent orders to Setia,  
 Cora, and Lanuvium to have provisions in readiness  
 for him both in their towns, and also to bring them  
 from the distant villages to the road. He likewise  
 ordered their magistrates to draw together troops for  
 the defence of their cities, and to over-awe their po-  
 pulace.

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T H A T day the Carthaginian passed the Voltur-  
 no, he encamped at a small distance from it. The  
 next day he arrived in the territory of the Sidicini  
 near Cale. There he halted one day to ravage the  
 country, and then marched by Sueffula, Allifæ and  
 Casinum on the Latin way. At the latter he staid  
 two days, and ravaged the lands to a great extent.  
 From thence passing by Interamna and Aquinum he

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CHAP. arrived in the territories of Fregellæ on the banks of  
 IX. the Liris. Here he found the inhabitants had broke  
 down the bridge on purpose to retard his march. Fulvius too had been obstructed in passing the Voltur-  
 no ; for Hannibal had burnt all the boats, so that the pro-consul with difficulty found materials for transporting his troops. But when he had once got over he met with no farther obstruction on his march, as provisions were generously set ready for him not only in the cities, but all along the road, and his troops chearfully exhorted each other to double their pace, mindful that they were marching to defend their native country. An express from Fregellæ, having posted night and day, raised a great alarm at Rome ; but the concourse of people, that ran together and exaggerated the news without foundation and beyond truth, occasioned a much greater tumult. The lamentations of the women were not confined to private houses ; for the ladies ran up and down in public to the temples of the Gods, sweeping the altars with their dishevel'd hair, and kneeling stretched out their hands to heaven and the Gods, beseeching them to deliver the city of Rome out of the hands of enemies, and preserve the Roman women and their little children from all abuse. The senators were ready in the forum to assist the magistrates, in case they should want advice on any unforeseen event. Some received the necessary orders and went to execute them. Others offered their services to the magistrates in whatever they should want to employ them. Troops were posted in the citadel, in the capitol, on the walls, round the city, on the Alban mount and in the fort of Æsula. In the midst of this commotion, the pro-consul Fulvius with his army arrived from Capua. That he might not lose his authority by entering the city, the senate passed an act, conferring upon him equal authority with the consuls. Hannibal, having in a terrible manner laid waste the territories of the Fregellani for breaking down their bridge, passed through the lands of Frus-  
 sinon<sup>a</sup>



finon<sup>a</sup>, Ferentinum and Anagnia<sup>b</sup> into the fields of Labicum<sup>c</sup>, and from thence to Algidum<sup>d</sup>, and then on to Tusculum<sup>e</sup>. As the latter did not open it's gates to him he came down to Gabii<sup>f</sup>. Thence he proceeded and encamped in the Pupinian fields<sup>g</sup> eight miles from Rome. The nearer he approached Rome, the Numidians, who were his advanced guard, committed the greater slaughter on the fugitives, and took many prisoners of all ages and sexes.

DURING this alarm, Fulvius marched his army through the gate Capena, crossed the quarter of Carinæ<sup>a</sup> and the Æsquiline hill, and encamped between the Colline and Æsquiline gates. The ædiles supply'd him with provisions. The consuls and senate came into the camp, to deliberate on the present situation of their affairs. In the first place the consuls approved of the situation of the camp. Next it was resolved that C. Calpurnius the city prætor should command in the capitol and citadel, and that the senate should often meet in the forum to assist them with their counsel as any sudden emergency should require. In the mean time the Carthaginian advanced to the Anio, within three miles of Rome. There he pitched his camp, and proceeded in person with 2000 horse from the Colline gate to the temple of Hercules, and approaching as near as he could, rode about examining the walls and situation of the city. Flaccus was enraged to see him do this so quietly and securely, and detached a squadron of horse to drive him back to his lines. As an action ensued, the consuls ordered 1200 Numidian deserters who were then posted on the Aventine hill to cross the city to the Æsquiline gate, judging them the fittest corps to act in the valleys, houses, gardens, sepulchres and hol-

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<sup>a</sup> Frascone in the *Compagna di Roma*.

an inn, *L. Osteria del Aglio*.

<sup>b</sup> Both in the *Compagna di Roma*.

<sup>c</sup> Near *Frascati*.

See Vol. i. p. 91. a. Vol. iii. p. 19. g.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. i. p. 96.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. i. p. 321. b. ten miles from Rome.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. iii. p. 16. a.

<sup>a</sup> It lay between mount *Celius* and

<sup>d</sup> Not in being. But in it's place the *Palatine*.



CHAP. low ways. As soon as they were spy'd from the  
 X. citadel, capitol, and clivus Publicius<sup>b</sup>, the alarm was  
 given, that mount Aventine was taken. The terror  
 and flight this occasioned was so great, that had not  
 the Carthaginian been encamped without the city,  
 the whole affrighted multitude would have quitted it  
 directly. As it was, they fled to their houses and  
 got upon the tops of them, from whence they threw  
 down stones and darts at these Numidians, believing  
 them to be enemies. The tumult could neither be  
 appeased nor the people undeceived, the streets were  
 so full of peasants, whom the sudden alarm had dri-  
 ven to take refuge in the city with a great number of  
 cattle. Luckily the Roman cavalry had the advan-  
 tage in the skirmish and obliged the enemy to retire.  
 As many tumults arose in every quarter without  
 foundation, the senate, to suppress them, ordered  
 that all who had been dictators, consuls, or censors,  
 should have authority to command in their respective  
 quarters of the city, till the enemy should retire. By  
 this means several tumults that arose during the re-  
 maining part of the day and ensuing night, were  
 happily suppressed.

CHAP. NEXT day Hannibal passed the Anio, and  
 XI. drew up his army in order of battle. Flaccus and the  
 consuls did not decline fighting. Both armies were  
 ready to exert their utmost in an action, in which  
 Rome was to be the conquerors prize. But a terrible  
 shower, mixed with hail, distressed both armies to  
 such a degree, that the soldiers, unable to keep under  
 arms, retired to their respective lines, afraid of no-  
 thing less than of the enemy. They were prevented  
 by the same storm from engaging next day when  
 they were formed on the same ground. But they had  
 scarce retired into their camp, when to their great  
 surprize the weather became fine and serene. The  
 Carthaginians looked on this as something supernatu-  
 ral, and it is said that Hannibal cry'd out, ' he  
 was sometimes deprived of the will, and sometimes



‘ of the power of taking Rome.’ Besides several CHAP.  
other circumstances mortify’d the Carthaginian. The  
most considerable was, that while he lay with his ar-  
my before Rome, he heard recruits had marched  
with colors flying away for Spain. That of least im-  
portance was, that a prisoner informed him, the field  
on which he was encamped was sold at Rome at the  
full price. He looked on this as so great an indigni-  
ty and insult, that there should be found at Rome  
any one so bold as to buy that land which he occu-  
pied and held by right of conquest, that he im-  
mediately ordered a herald to proclame an auction of  
the bankers shops round the Roman forum. Then  
he retired and encamped on the banks of the Turia<sup>a</sup>,  
six miles from Rome. From thence he advanced to  
the grove of Feronia, famous at that time for it’s rich  
temple. The Capenates<sup>b</sup> and other neighboring peo-  
ple used to bring thither the first fruits of their corn,  
and other offerings according to their estates, and  
thus the temple was enriched with much gold and  
silver. But it was then stript of all these presents.  
Yet after the departure of Hannibal there were found  
great heaps of brass, which his troops, from remorse  
of conscience, had thrown into it. All historians agree  
that the temple was plundered. But Cælius, that  
Hannibal turn’d off from Eretum to it on his way to  
Rome. From Reate, Cutillii, and Amiternum he  
began his rout out of Campania into Samnium. Then  
he crossed the country of the Peligni, and passed by  
Sulmo, in the territories of the Marrucini. From  
thence through the fields of Alba, into the country of  
the Marfi, and then to Amiternum, and the village  
of Foruli. Nor is there any mistake in this account,  
as the tracks of so great an army could not be worn  
out in so short a time. For he certainly took this  
rout. The only question is, whether he marched by  
this way to Rome, or returned by it from thence in-  
to Campania.

<sup>a</sup> Near *Casert Jubileo*, between the *Allia* and the *Anio*.

<sup>b</sup> Their city stood near *Morlupo*.



IN the mean time the Romans were not more bent on pressing the siege of Capua, than Hannibal was to save it. For he marched first through Lucania into Bruttium, and from thence to Rhegium on the streight of Sicily with so much expedition, that he had like to have surprized that city. Though Capua was very closely blockaded by Appius in the absence of his colleague, yet the inhabitants were very sensible of the return of Fulvius. They were surprized also, that Hannibal had not returned at the same time. But in some conferences they had with the besiegers, they were informed that they were abandoned and deserted, and that the Carthaginians despaired of being able to preserve Capua. Besides the order of the senate the pro-consuls made proclamation, ‘ that every Capuan, that should repair to the Romans against a fixed day, should suffer no injury.’ But not one comply’d, restrain’d more by their fear of being ill treated by the Romans, than by any fidelity to the Carthaginians; for they were conscious their revolt was accompany’d by too hainous circumstances to be pardoned. As no private person had repaired to the Romans, so the public was without counsel. The nobility had abandoned the management of affairs, nor would the senate assemble for deliberation. The whole administration was in the hands of a person, who did not acquire any honor by his office, but even derogated from the authority and dignity thereof by his unworthiness to bear it. No person of distinction appeared in the forum or any public place: but had all shut themselves up in their houses, in daily expectation of the ruin of their country and their own death. The whole administration was devolved upon Bostar and Hanno, commanders of the Carthaginian garison, who were more solicitous about their own safety, than concerned for the danger their allies were in. They wrote letters to Hannibal not only with great liberty, but full of warm reproaches. They complained, ‘ that Capua was not only betray’d to the enemy,



‘ enemy, but they and their garison abandoned to the  
‘ most exquisite tortures. He had retired into Brut-  
‘ tium on purpose to avoid seeing Capua taken  
‘ before his face. The siege of Rome could not  
‘ force the Romans to raise that of Capua: so  
‘ much did the Romans shew themselves a more in-  
‘ defatigable enemy, than he a constant friend. If  
‘ he would return to Capua, and bend his whole  
‘ force that way, they and the inhabitants would  
‘ be ready to make a fally. The Carthaginians  
‘ did not pass the Alps to make war upon the  
‘ Rhegians and Tarentines. Their troops ought  
‘ to be only where the Roman legions were. It was  
‘ thus they had conquered at Thrasymen and at Can-  
‘ næ, by meeting and engaging the enemy, and by  
‘ risking a battle.’ These were the contents of the  
letters, which were delivered to some Numidians,  
who for the sake of a reward had undertaken to de-  
liver them. They went over to Flaccus’s camp as  
deserters till they should find an opportunity of  
escaping, and were the more easily credited, as the  
famine in Capua had long been very great. But un-  
expectedly a Capuan woman, who had been mistress  
to one of them, coming to the Roman camp, in-  
formed the general, that the Numidians had deserted  
by concert and were carrying letters to Hannibal.  
She said she was ready to maintain her accusation in  
face of one of them, who had entrusted her with the  
secret. When they were confronted the Numidian  
at first strenuously insisted he did not know her. But  
by degrees he was convicted of some facts, and at  
last when he saw the racks brought and preparing,  
he confessed all. The letters were then produced.  
He likewise discovered more secrets, that there were  
many other Numidian spies in the Roman camp,  
under the disguise of deserters. Upwards of 70 of  
them were seized, and, after being scourged with rods,  
and having their hands cut off, as well as the late de-  
serters, were sent back to Capua. The sight of these  
maimed wretches, who had been so severely punished,  
entirely broke the spirit of the Capuans.



## CHAP.

XIII.

THE people flocked to the senate house and obliged Lelius to assemble the senate. They threatened to go round to the houses of the principal men, who had long hid themselves, and drag them all into the forum by force, if they refused to come to the senate. Fear made them assemble and the house was very full. While all the rest declared for sending a deputation to obtain terms from the Roman generals, Vibius Virius, the author of their revolt, when his opinion was asked, spoke to a very different effect. ‘ You, said he, who have declared for a deputation to treat of peace and a surrendry, neither consider, what you yourselves would do if you had the Romans equally in your power, or what you are now to suffer. How! do you expect to surrender on the same terms now that we formerly did when we ceded ourselves and our all to the Romans, in order to obtain their aid against the Samnites? Have you already forgot, at what juncture and in what circumstances we renounced the alliance of Rome? Don’t you remember, how at the time of our revolt we put their garison to death by the most ignominious and inhuman torments, when we had it in our power to have dismissed them? How often and how furiously we sally’d out, and attacked their lines! How we sent for Hannibal to cut them to pieces; and, which happen’d latest of all, detached him hence to besiege Rome? On the other hand observe, what their inveteracy against us has made them undertake, that from thence you may judge what you are to hope for. While a foreign enemy, such an enemy as Hannibal, was in Italy; while war raged in all the corners of the country, they quitted every other enterprize, nay quitted Hannibal, and sent two consuls with two consular armies to besiege Capua. By closely investing and blockading us during two years, they have starved us. To be revenged on us they themselves have undergone the most severe fatigue and the most extreme dangers, having had much of their blood spilt round



round their ramparts and entrenchments, and lastly CHAP.  
almost fairly been driven out of their camp. But XIII.  
let me pass over these things ; for it is com-  
mon to suffer fatigues and dangers in besieging an  
enemy's city. But we have met with more sensible  
proofs of their implacable hatred and revenge.  
Hannibal attack'd their lines with a numerous army  
of horse and foot, and forced a part of them. But  
this danger did not make them raise the siege. He  
passed the Volturno, and burnt the country of Cale ;  
yet they calmly looked on while their allies were  
ruined in this manner. He ordered his troops to  
march with banners display'd to attack Rome itself.  
They even despised this storm that threatned them.  
He passed the Anio and encamped within three  
miles of Rome, nay at last advanced to it's walls  
and gates. He shewed them he was resolved to  
take their capital from them if they did not quit  
Capua. But they did not abandon it. Wild beasts,  
actuated by blind rage and fury, will fly to the  
relief of their young when attacked in their dens.  
But neither the siege of Rome, the cries of wives  
and children, which in a manner were heard here,  
altars, houses, temples of their Gods, nay, nor  
the tombs of their ancestors profaned and destroy'd,  
could force the Romans from Capua ; so bent are  
they on punishing us, so much do they thirst after  
our blood. After all, perhaps, they do us no  
wrong ; for we would have done the same, had  
fortune put it in our power. Therefore, since it is  
the will of the Gods, and I cannot avoid death,  
while I am free and absolute arbiter of my own  
fate, by an honorable, nay a gentle death, I can  
elude the ignominy and tortures the enemy flatter  
themselves with inflicting on me : I will not suffer  
Ap. Claudius and Q. Fulvius, relying on their  
victory, to insult me : I will not be drag'd in chains  
through Rome to grace their triumph, and then be  
led to a dungeon, or to a block, where after having  
my back mangled with rods, I must yield up my  
neck



CHAP. XIII. neck to a Roman ax. I will not see my native city rifled and in flames, nor the Capuan ladies, virgins and free born boys drag'd the victims of brutal lust. They razed Alba, from whence they sprung, to the very foundations, that there might remain no trace, no remembrance of their origin; and shall we fondly imagine they will spare Capua, which they hate more than Carthage? Such of you therefore as are resolved to yield to your hard fate, rather than witness so many and so cruel misfortunes, will this day find an entertainment ready prepared at my house. When we have eaten and drank plentifully, the same cup, which I shall drink of first, shall be carried round to all. The potion in it shall deliver our bodies from torments, our spirits from indignities, our eyes and ears from seeing and hearing all the bitter and ignominious injuries, that are the portion of the vanquished. Persons are ready to throw our dead bodies on a funeral pile, which is lighted in the court-yard of my house. This is the only free and honorable way left us to put an end to our lives. Our very enemies will admire our courage, and the perfidious Carthaginian be made sensible, that he betray'd and abandoned brave allies.'

CHAP. XIV. MORE approved this speech of Virius, than had courage to put in execution what it recommended. The major part of the senators, who in many former wars had often experienced the clemency of the Romans, did not despair of obtaining another mark of it, and decreed, that a deputation should be sent to surrender their city. Accordingly deputies went. About twenty seven senators follow'd Vibius home, and took part of the fatal entertainment. They endeavored as much as they could to forget their imminent misery in wine and good cheer, and closed all with a cup of poison. Then they rose from table, and having embraced as a last adieu, and with tears deplored their own and their country's fate, they parted. Some staid behind to be burnt on the common



mon funeral pile, and others retired to their own houses. The quantity of wine and victuals, they had taken, prevented the quick operation of the poison.

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xiv.

In consequence the greatest part of them languished all that night and part of the following day. However they all expired before the gates were opened to the enemy. The next day Jupiter's gate, which fronted the Roman camp, was opened by order of the pro-consul. C. Fulvius the lieutenant-general entered it with one legion and two squadrons of horse. After he had taken care to have all the arms and weapons in the city brought to him, and posted guards at the gates to prevent any person from going or being sent out, he seized the Carthaginian garison, and ordered the Capuan senators to repair to the Roman generals in their camp. When they came there they were all immediately put in irons, and ordered to send all their gold and silver to the quæstors. The gold amounted to seventy pound weight, and the silver to three thousand two hundred pound weight. Twenty five of these senators were sent prisoners to Cale and twenty eight to Teanum. These were they who were best known to have brought about the revolt of their state from the Romans.

FULVIUS and Appius did not agree about the punishment of the Capuan senators. The latter was inclined to clemency, but his colleague to punishing them with unrelenting rigor. For this reason Appius declared absolutely for referring the matter to the decision of the senate. He also thought it reasonable that the fathers should have it in their power to enquire, whether any of the Latin municipal towns had been concerned in the conspiracy, or aided them in the war. Fulvius replied, ' That was not to be allowed; it was to disturb faithful allies with doubtful accusations; and make their fate depend on informers, who never regarded conscience either in their words or actions.' For this reason he said he would suppress any such enquiry. Upon this they parted. Appius, how sanguinely soever his colleague

CHAP.

xv.

had



CHAP. had spoke, did not doubt but in an affair of that con-  
xv. sequence he would wait an answer from the senate.  
But Fulvius, to prevent any obstacle to his designs from that quarter, dismissed his levy and ordered the legionary tribunes and præfects of the allies to tell 2000 chosen horse to be ready at the third sound of the trumpet. With this detachment he went in the night to Teanum, and entering the town at day-break went directly to the forum. The people flocked round in crowds, as soon as the detachment entered. Then he ordered the Sidicinian who was magistrate of the place to be called, and commanded him to bring out the Capuan senators he had in custody. As soon as they were brought before him, they were scourged with rods and beheaded. Then he gallop'd to Cale, where while he was sitting on the tribunal with the Capuan senators before him tied to a stake, an express from Rome delivered him letters from the prætor Calpurnius, with the senate's orders inclosed. A rumor ran from the tribunal through the whole assembly, that the senate reserved the cognizance of the case of the Capuans to themselves. Fulvius, suspecting it, put the letters in his bosom without opening the seals, and ordered the herald to command the lictors to execute the sentence. Thus those at Cale were likewise put to death. Then he read the dispatches and the senate's orders, but too late to prevent what was past, and which he had hastened as much as he could, that he might meet with no obstacle. As Fulvius was going to dismiss the assembly, Taurea Jubellius, breaking through the crowd in the middle of the city, called to him by name. The pro-consul in surprize resumed his seat, to hear what he would say. 'Order, said Jubellius, 'me also to be murdered, that thou mayst boast of 'having killed a braver man than thyself.' Fulvius only said, 'that the man was certainly mad, and be- 'sides, if he inclined to put him to death, his hands 'were now tied up by the senate's order.' Jubellius then replied, 'If after having seen my country en- 'slaved,



‘slaved, lost my friends and relations, and killed  
 ‘with my own hand my wife and children to pre-  
 ‘vent their being inhumanly treated, I can’t have  
 ‘the satisfaction of dying the same death with my  
 ‘countrymen, I will have recourse to my courage  
 ‘to disburthen me of a miserable life.’ Then he  
 drew out a sword which he had concealed under his  
 coat, and stabbing himself through the heart, fell  
 dead at the general’s feet.

BECAUSE Flaccus alone was concerned in pu- CHAP.  
 nishing the Capuans, and several other transactions, XVI.  
 some writers say that Ap. Claudius died about the  
 time Capua was surrendered. And also that Taurea  
 neither came of his own accord to Cale, or laid vio-  
 lent hands on himself; but that as he was tied to the  
 stake with the rest, Flaccus had ordered silence,  
 because the noise prevented him from hearing distinct-  
 ly what Jubellius was bawling aloud. Then it was  
 he spoke what is mentioned above, ‘that he who  
 ‘was a very brave man was going to be put to death  
 ‘by one much his inferior in valor.’ Upon this, by  
 the pro-consul’s order, the herald called out, ‘Lic-  
 ‘tor, scourge this bully with rods, and begin the execu-  
 ‘tion with him.’ Some authors also say, that he had  
 read the senate’s decree before the execution. But as  
 it contained these words, ‘that he should leave it to  
 ‘the cognizance of the senate, IF HE JUDGED IT  
 ‘PROPER,’ he construed them as a tacit permission  
 to act what he should judge most for the interest of  
 the state. After his return from Cale to Capua, Atella  
 and Calatia surrendered. He likewise punished the  
 principal men of these two cities. Thus about eighty  
 of the principal senators of Capua were put to death,  
 near three hundred persons of distinction imprisoned in  
 the Latin cities, where they perished miserably in dif-  
 ferent manners; and the commonalty sold. Nothing  
 remained but to determine what should be done with  
 the city itself and it’s lands. As it was a strong and  
 neighboring city, and at enmity with them, some  
 of the fathers were for razing it. But reasons of  
 interest



CHAP. interest prevailed. For the sake of it's territory, which  
 XVI. was the finest and most fertile in all Italy, the city  
 was preserved, that it might be the residence of those  
 who cultivated it. In order to people it they engaged  
 a great number of the former inhabitants who were  
 freedmen, merchants, and artificers. But the whole  
 territory and the houses were annexed to the public  
 property of Rome. It was resolved however, that  
 it should only be peopled and inhabited as a village,  
 but enjoy none of the privileges that constitute a free  
 city. It should neither have senate, comitia, nor  
 magistrates. For they imagined that without a pub-  
 lic council, without a head to govern and direct them,  
 the multitude would never be capable of forming any  
 plot or conspiracy. A prætor was annually sent thi-  
 ther from Rome to administer justice. Such was the  
 manner in which every thing was settled relating to  
 Capua by a conduct highly laudable in every respect.  
 A speedy and severe vengeance was taken on the cul-  
 pable. The multitude was dispersed without hope  
 of return. The houses and walls, that were innocent  
 of the crimes of their inhabitants, were not burnt and  
 demolished by an unreasonable rage. Besides, the  
 considerable advantages at the same time derived to  
 the Romans, they gained a reputation for clemency  
 by sparing this famous and opulent city, the demo-  
 lition of which would have been attended with the  
 groans of all the states of Campania and of their  
 neighbors. Above all, this was a clear demonstration  
 to their enemies, how able the Romans were to punish  
 unfaithful allies, and on the contrary, how incapable  
 Hannibal was to defend those he had taken under his  
 protection.

CHAP. AFTER the Roman senate had finished every  
 XVII. thing relating to Capua, they allotted Nero 6000  
 foot and 300 horse, which he had chosen out of the  
 two legions which he commanded at Capua, with  
 the same number of Latin foot and 800 horse. Nero,  
 having embarked these troops at Puteoli, transported  
 them into Spain. When he arrived at Tarraco, he  
 landed



landed his troops, drew his ships ashore and armed their crews in order to augment his forces. Then he advanced to the Ebro and received the army, from the lieutenant general T. Fonteius, and L. Marcius. After this he set out in quest of the enemy. Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar, was then encamped at the Black Rocks <sup>a</sup> in Ausetania, between the cities of Illiturges and Mentissa <sup>b</sup>. Nero seized the entrance of the defile in that place. Asdrubal to prevent being shut up in that narrow place, sent a trumpet to promise in his name, to evacuate Spain with all his troops on condition Nero would suffer him to retire out of it. The Roman received the proposal with joy, and Asdrubal demanded an interview against next day, that the Romans might settle the conditions upon which the citadels of the towns were to be surrendered to them, and fix a day when the Carthaginians should withdraw their garisons and remove all their effects without injuring the inhabitants. When these were agreed upon, he ordered the heavy baggage of the army to begin to move out of the defile in the close of the evening and continue all night by whatever way they could. Great care was taken that many troops should not draw off that night, a small number being more proper to deceive the enemy in the night, and also to facilitate their escape through bye ways and defiles. Next day both sides met at the interview. But by long speeches and writing many articles that had no relation to the affair, the day was spent without concluding any thing, and the affair put off till next day. The intervening night gave Asdrubal time to send away more of his troops. The affair was not terminated the third day. So that having gained several days by openly disputing about the terms, and sent away his troops secretly in the night, when the major part were got safe out, he refused to stand to what he had before promised ; and as his fidelity vanished in proportion as his fear decreased, they were farther and farther from coming

<sup>a</sup> Near *Bæza*, a town on the *Guadalquivir*.

<sup>b</sup> The present *Mentejon*, in *la Mancha*.



CHAP. to an agreement. By this time the greatest part of  
 xvii. his infantry had got safe out, when at day break a  
 { thick fog covered the whole defile and the plains round  
 about. As soon as the Carthaginian perceived this,  
 he sent to Nero to beg he would put off the conference  
 till the next day, for that day was a festival, on  
 which the Carthaginians were not permitted to treat  
 of any serious affairs. The Roman had not even then  
 the least suspicion of the cheat. When Asdrubal had  
 obtained his request, he immediately dislodged with  
 his cavalry and elephants, and escaped safe without  
 giving the enemy the least alarm. About ten in the  
 morning the sun dispersed the fog, and the day be-  
 ing now clear, the Romans discovered that the enemy  
 had abandoned their camp. Then Claudius became  
 sensible of the Carthaginian's cheat, and resolved to  
 pursue him and force him to fight. But the enemy  
 avoided a battle by only a few light skirmishes be-  
 tween the rear and the Roman van-guard.

CHAP. IN this posture of affairs, neither those states of  
 xviii. Spain that had gone over to the Carthaginians, after  
 { the defeat of the Romans, returned to their alliance,  
 nor did any more revolt. After the recovery of Ca-  
 pua, the Roman senate had taken as much care of  
 the affairs of Spain as of those of Italy, and de-  
 termined to send a new general and strong reinforce-  
 ments to the army in that province. They found  
 great difficulty in the choice of a general. For they  
 thought they could not be too careful in appointing  
 one to supply the place of two illustrious cap-  
 tains who had been killed within the space of thirty  
 days. Some named one, and some another, till at  
 last they resolved to refer to an assembly of the peo-  
 ple the nomination of a proconsul to command in  
 Spain, and the consuls fixed the day of election. It  
 was at first expected, that such as thought themselves  
 worthy of so important a command, would offer  
 themselves as candidates. But finding themselves dis-  
 appointed, it revived their grief for the defeat and  
 the loss of two generals who had been killed in it.  
 But the people, notwithstanding their dejection, and  
 being



being destitute of counsel, repaired to the forum on the day appointed. There they fixed their eyes on the magistrates, and the principal men, who looked mournfully on one another, and lamented that the affairs of the commonwealth were in so desperate a condition, that no one would venture to take upon him to command in Spain. But all of a sudden P. Cornelius, son of Publius, who had been killed in that province, being then near twenty-four years old, step'd up to an eminence from whence he might be seen, and offered himself a candidate. The assembly no sooner cast their eyes upon him, than they testified so great a regard for him, and set up such shouts of joy, as presaged the future success and glory of his command. Then being ordered to proceed to vote, not only all the centuries, but every individual voter in them, by their suffrages, declared him general for Spain. But when the election was over, and the first fally of their zeal checked, a profound silence ensued, and they begun secretly to reflect upon having acted contrary to the established maxims of their constitution, and that favor had had a greater share in their choice than their reason. His youth gave them the greatest pain. Even the misfortunes of his family, his name, and setting out from two houses still in mourning into a province where he was to give battle between the tombs of his father and uncle, alarmed their superstition.

WHEN Scipio perceived this melancholy and anxiety, which proceeded from a precipitate determination in so important an affair, he assembled the people. He spoke to them with so much greatness and elevation of soul, of his age, the command confided to him, and the war he was to prosecute, that he revived and renewed in them that ardor that had subsided, and filled them with a confident hope, superior to mens promises, and the reasons they usually urge to gain them credit. For in truth Scipio not only attracted admiration upon himself, by his really inherent virtues, but by a surprizing address, by



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which he had displayed his other talents to advantage, even from his earliest youth. Whatever he proposed to the multitude, he pretended to have been admonished of by the Gods, either in dreams, or secret inspirations; whether this was the effect of superstition in himself, or only an artifice he employed to accomplish his designs, and obtain commands without hesitation, as if they had been oracles delivered by the Gods. In this view, and by preparing mens minds in this manner, from the time he put on the manly gown, he never entered upon any private or public business, till he had first gone to the capitol, and passed a considerable time in the temple, for the most part alone. This custom, which he religiously observed through the whole of his life, whether with or without any particular design, made people generally entertain the opinion that he was of divine original, and a story prevail, which had formerly been reported of Alexander the Great, but equally ridiculous and fabulous with regard to them both, that his mother conceived him by a serpent, which was often seen in her bed-chamber, but upon any one's entering, rolled away and suddenly disappeared. He never endeavored to undeceive people with respect to those prodigies, but rather confirmed them by an additional policy, never absolutely denying, or plainly affirming the truth of them. This youth practised many other artifices, some fair and some counterfeit, which raised in people an admiration of him beyond belief, and on the merit of which the state confided to him this important command, and the management of so considerable a war, before he was arrived at the usual age. To the old army in Spain, and the forces which Nero had transported from Puteoli, Scipio received 10000 additional foot, and 1000 horse. M. Junius Silanus was sent in quality of pro-prætor to assist him in the functions of his office. Thus setting sail from Ostia with a fleet of thirty quinqueremes, he sailed through the Tyrrhenian sea, coasted along the Alps and Gaul, doubled the cape



of the Pyrenees<sup>a</sup>, and landed his troops at Empuria, a city founded by Greeks from Phocæa. From it he marched by land to Tarraco, ordering his fleet to follow by sea. Here he held an assembly of the deputies of all the states of Spain in alliance with the Romans, who had repaired thither in crowds from all parts of the province on the report of his arrival. He ordered his ships to be laid up on shore after sending back four triremes, which out of compliment had attended him from Marseilles. Then he began to give answers to the deputies, who had been long in suspense by reason of the many and different turns of the war in Spain. He spoke to them with such a greatness of soul and exalted confidence, founded in the merit of his great talents, that not a word favoring of pride escaped him, whilst all he said had both an air of dignity and sincerity.

SETTING out from Tarraco, he visited the ci- ties of the allies and the winter quarters of the army. He highly applauded the troops who, after two such great defeats on the neck of each other, had preserved the province, and, without giving the enemy time to make the proper improvement of their victories, had drove them out of the country on this side the Ebro, and faithfully protected the allies of Rome. He honored Marcius to such a degree, as plainly shewed, that he feared nothing less than that he would eclipse his glory. Then Silanus succeeded Nero, and the new troops went into winter quarters. Scipio, having in time provided for every thing, and taken all necessary precautions, returned to Tarraco. He had as great a reputation among his enemies as among his countrymen and the allies, and the panic it struck the former into was a sure presage of his success, the more as no reason of their fear could be assigned. They had gone into different winter quarters. Asdrubal, son of Gisgo, upon the sea-coast and Cadiz; Mago in the middle of the country, especially beyond the forest of Castulo, and Asdru-

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<sup>a</sup> *Cape de Vendres.*



CHAP. bal, son of Hamilcar, nearest to the Ebro, and a-  
 XX. bout Saguntum. In the end of the summer in which  
 Capua was taken, and Scipio arrived in Spain, a  
 Carthaginian fleet had been sent for from Sicily, to  
 cut off the provisions of the Roman garison in the ci-  
 tadel of Tarentum, by which all access to it was  
 shut up. But the long blockade occasioned as great  
 a scarcity among the enemy as among the Ro-  
 mans. For a sufficient quantity of corn to supply  
 the fleet, which being composed of a vast medly  
 of all kinds of soldiers and seamen, could not be  
 brought by the townsmen from the coast, though the  
 people thereof were at peace with them, though their  
 ports were open, by being guarded with a Carthaginian  
 fleet. But as the Romans were few in number, they  
 could subsist on what they had laid in before without  
 any supply. At length the fleet was dismissed, which  
 the Tarentines were more thankful for, than they had  
 been for their coming. However this did not relieve  
 the scarcity much ; because, when their defence by  
 sea was removed, they could not bring in supplies of  
 corn.

CHAP. ABOUT the end of the same campaign, M.  
 XXI. Marcellus returned from Sicily. On his arrival, the  
 prætor C. Calpurnius assembled the senate at the  
 temple of Bellona to give him audience. After he  
 had given an account of his victories, he modestly  
 complained, not only in his own behalf, but in name  
 of his troops, that after he had reduced the province,  
 he had not been permitted to bring back his army,  
 and then petitioned for leave to enter the city in tri-  
 umph. This occasioned a warm debate. On one  
 side it was demanded, ‘ whether it was reasonable  
 ‘ to deny a triumph to a general when present, in  
 ‘ whose name, and for whose successes, a supplicati-  
 ‘ on had been appointed, and thanks returned to the  
 ‘ immortal Gods, in his absence.’ To this it was re-  
 plied, ‘ that it was unreasonable to grant a triumph  
 ‘ to a general, as if he had terminated the war,  
 ‘ whom they had ordered to deliver up his army to  
 ‘ a suc-



‘ a successor, an order never given but when war  
‘ still subsisted in the province, and while his army,  
‘ which alone could determine his meriting nor not

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‘ meriting it, were not present.’ In consequence they took a middle way, and granted him an ovation. The tribunes of the people, by order of the senate, moved the assembly to continue his command to him that day he should enter the city in an ovation. The day before he triumphed upon the Alban mount. Then he entered the city in an ovation, with a vast booty carried before him. Besides the plan of Syracuse, which he had taken, there were carried before him, the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war ; the rich ornaments which it's kings had laid up during a long peace, silver and brazen vases of curious workmanship, rich household furniture and apparel, and many paintings of an exquisite taste, with which it was more adorned than any Grecian city. Eight elephants were led in the procession, as a proof of his victory over the Carthaginians. The finest sight of all, was Sosis the Syracusan, and Meric the Spaniard, who walked before him with crowns of gold on their heads. The former had conducted the Romans into Syracuse by night, and the latter had betray'd Nasos and it's garison. Both of them were presented with the freedom of the city, and to each five hundred acres of land. Sosis had his, either out of that which had belonged to the kings, or the enemies of Rome, together with any house in Syracuse he would pitch on that belonged to those who had been punished by the rights of war. They ordered Meric and the Spaniards that came over with him to be put in possession of one of the cities and it's territories in Sicily, which had revolted to the Carthaginians. This business was entrusted to M. Cornelius, who was to assign whatever city and lands he saw proper. At the same time they decreed four hundred acres of land to Belligenes, who had prevailed with Meric to side with the Romans. After Marcellus had left Sicily, the Carthaginian fleet



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had landed 8000 foot, and 3000 Numidian horse. The people in the district of Marguntia revolted to them; Hybla, Macella, and several other considerable towns, followed their example. The Numidians also, with Mutines at their head, ranged all over the province, and burnt the lands of the Roman allies. Besides the Roman army, enraged that they had not been led home by their general, and also because they were not permitted to winter in towns, did their duty with great reluctance, and rather wanted a leader than inclination to raise a mutiny. The prætor M. Cornelius surmounted all these difficulties. He pacified the soldiers, sometimes by mild speeches, and sometimes by reprimands, and reduced all the cities that had revolted. Of them he gave, by order of the senate, Murguntia to the Spaniards, to whom the public had engaged to give a city and lands.

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XXII.



AS both consuls were in Apulia, and there was now less to apprehend from Hannibal and his Carthaginians, they were ordered to draw lots for Apulia and Macedonia. Sulpicius got Lævinus's province. Fulvius was recalled to hold the comitia for the election of consuls, in which the prerogative century of young men of the Veturian tribe nominated T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Otacilius. Manlius was on the spot. When the crowd came about him to congratulate him, and the people had not the least suspicion of his refusing to accept the honor, he advanced with a great train to the consuls tribunal. Having beg'd audience for a few moments, he desired the century which had voted might be called again. While all present expected with impatience what he was going to ask, he begun with excusing the weakness of his eyes. ' It would, said he, ' be presumption in a pilot or a general, when he ' was obliged to act with the eyes of another, to insist that the lives and fortunes of others should be ' committed to his care. Therefore, Fulvius, order ' the youngest century of the Veturian tribe to give ' their votes anew, and to reflect seriously on their ' choice,



‘ choice, on the nature of the war now in Italy, and  
 ‘ on the present circumstances of the commonwealth ;  
 ‘ that the alarm and terror, occasioned by the ene-  
 ‘ my’s sitting down, a few months before, round the  
 ‘ walls of Rome, still rung in their ears.’ The cen-  
 tury cried out with violence that they would make no  
 alteration in the choice they had made, but would  
 nominate the same persons again. Then Torquatus  
 continued, ‘ If I am consul, I shall neither be able  
 ‘ to bear your manners, nor you my government.  
 ‘ Therefore return to the voting place, and consider  
 ‘ we have a war in Italy against the Carthaginians,  
 ‘ and that they have Hannibal at their head.’ The  
 magisterial tone in which he pronounced this, and  
 the general applause of his disinterestedness, prevail-  
 ed with the century, so that they petitioned the con-  
 sul to call the century of elders belonging to their  
 tribe, with whom they desired to consult, and to be  
 regulated in their choice of consuls by their sage ad-  
 vice. The seniors being called were permitted to  
 retire into the sheep-market to confer with the juniors.  
 They told them there were three persons, of whom  
 they might make a choice. Two had already serv-  
 ed all the offices with honor, Q. Fabius and M. Mar-  
 cellus ; but if they desired to send a person who had  
 never been consul before against the Carthaginian,  
 M. Valerius Lævinus had signalized himself both by  
 sea and land against king Philip. When the seniors  
 had withdrawn, the juniors consulted together, and  
 gave their suffrages for M. Marcellus, all glorious  
 from his late conquest of Sicily, and M. Valerius in  
 their absence. All the other centuries followed the  
 precedent of the prerogative. Those of our time ri-  
 dicule the manners of the ancients. If ever there was  
 a state composed of wise men, such as the learned  
 have rather imagined than known, I think it never  
 produced chiefs of stricter morals, more moderate,  
 less ambitious of command, or a body of people  
 better disciplined. That a century of young men  
 should desire to consult the old men of their tribe

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M. Marcellus, M. Valerius, consuls.

Y. of R. 542.  
B. J. C. 210.



concerning their choice of generals, will scarce seem credible in our degenerate age, when even the authority of parents is despised and disregarded by their children.

CHAP. XXIII. THEN P. Manlius Volso, L. Manlius Acidinus, C. Lætorius and L. Cincius Alimentus, were elected prætors. It happened just as the elections were finished, that accounts of the death of T. Otacilius, who it appeared the people would have given as colleague to T. Manlius, if the comitia had not been interrupted, arrived from Sicily. The Apollinarian games had been celebrated the preceding year, and upon a motion made by the prætor Calpurnius that they should be celebrated again this year, the senate ordered, that for the future they should be celebrated annually. The same year several prodigies were seen and reported. The statue of Victory on the cupola of the temple of Concord being struck with lightning, fell down to the other statues of Victory placed in the front of that temple, and there stuck fast, without falling further. It was reported that the walls and gates of Anagnia and Fregellæ were struck with lightning; that rivers of blood flowed a whole day in the forum of Sudertum; it rained stones at Eretum, and at Reate a mule had brought forth a foal. These prodigies were expiated by the larger sacrifices, and a solemn supplication for one day, and a festival for nine days. Some of the public priests died this year, and new ones were chosen in their room. In room of M. Æmilius Numida, keeper of the sacred books, M. Æmilius Lepidus; in room of M. Pomponius Matho, the pontif, C. Livius, and M. Servilius in room of Sp. Carvilius Maximus the augur. As T. Otacilius Crassus died at the end of the year, no successor was chosen to him. C. Claudius, priest of Jupiter, abdicated for having made a mistake in sacrificing.

CHAP. XXIV. AT the same time M. Val. Lævinus, having first founded the inclination of the chiefs of Ætolia<sup>a</sup> in

<sup>a</sup> In *Acbaia*, on the borders of *Epirus*. It had the river *Euenus* to the east,



in secret conferences, came in a surprize with his fleet to a place where they had been for the purpose appointed beforehand to assemble. After having

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highly extolled their successes in Italy and Sicily, as an instance of which he mentioned the taking Syracuse and Capua, he added, ‘ The Romans observe the method of procuring allies, handed down to them by their ancestors. They give some the right of citizenship, and entitle them to all the privileges of her own citizens. With others they deal so faithfully and generously, that they chuse rather to be their allies than denizens of Rome. The Ætolians might expect double honors, as they were the first transmarine people that had embraced her alliance. Philip and the Macedonians were oppressive neighbors to them. But Rome had broke their proud spirits, and would not only oblige them to evacuate all the towns they had forcibly taken from the Ætolians, but even carry the war into Macedonia itself. As to the Acarnanians<sup>b</sup>, who gave the Ætolians pain, by having separated from their society, they would force them to return to their former dependance and submission to them.’ Scopas, the prætor of that country, and Dorimachus the principal man amongst them, supported the Roman general’s speech and promises by their authority, magnifying the power and majesty of the Roman people with less reserve, and gained credit with greater ease. Their main motive however was the hope of recovering Acarnania. In consequence the articles on which they were to make an alliance with the Romans were drawn up. A clause was likewise added, ‘ leaving liberty to the Æleans<sup>c</sup>, Lacedæmonians<sup>d</sup>, Attalus, king of Pergamus<sup>e</sup>, Pleuratus, king of Thrace<sup>f</sup>, and Scerdilædus, king of Illyricum<sup>g</sup>, to accede to it if they thought proper on the same terms. The Ætolians stipulated forth-

east, *Acbelous* to the west, and the *Ionian Sea* to the south. Now called *Despotator Lepanto*.

<sup>b</sup> Now *La Carnia*, in the dominions of the Turk.

<sup>c</sup> Now *Belvedere*.

<sup>d</sup> Their country is now called *Misithra*.

<sup>e</sup> Now *Bergamo*, and gave birth to the famous *Galienus*.

<sup>f</sup> Now *Rumali*, subject to the Turk.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. iii. p. 36.



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‘ with to enter into a war against Philip by land.  
 ‘ The Romans should only assist them with 20 quin-  
 ‘ queremes. All the conquered cities from Ætolia to  
 ‘ Corcyra, their ground, houses, walls and territories  
 ‘ should be abandoned to the Ætolians, but all the  
 ‘ plunder should belong to the Romans. The latter  
 ‘ shall use their endeavors to restore Acarnania to the  
 ‘ Ætolians. If the Ætolians shall make a peace with  
 ‘ Philip they shall insert a clause that Philip shall not  
 ‘ attack the Romans, their allies, or any state sub-  
 ‘ ject to them. On the other hand, if the Romans  
 ‘ shall make peace with him, it shall be expressly  
 ‘ stipulated, that he shall not be permitted to make  
 ‘ war on the Ætolians and their allies.’ These were  
 the articles agreed to, but they were not signed till  
 two years after, and set up by the Ætolians at  
 Olympias<sup>n</sup>, and by the Romans in the capitol, as is  
 proved by those sacred monuments. This delay was  
 occasioned by the Romans dilatoriness in sending en-  
 voys to Ætolia. However their not being signed  
 was no obstacle to the commencement of hostilities.  
 For the Ætolians immediately made war on Philip,  
 and Lævinus took the island Zacynthus<sup>i</sup>, all except  
 the citadel of a town of the same name upon it. He  
 likewise took the cities of Oeniadæ<sup>k</sup> and Nasus<sup>l</sup> from  
 the Acarnanians, and restored them to the Ætolians.  
 Then he retired to Corcyra, well convinced, that  
 Philip was sufficiently embarrassed with his neigh-  
 bors, to divert him from thinking of Italy, or the  
 peace he had made with Hannibal.

CHAP.  
XXV.

PHILIP was in his winter quarters at Pella<sup>a</sup>,  
 when he received advice of the revolt of the Ætoli-  
 ans. Therefore, that he might be in a condition to  
 march against them early in the spring, and to pre-  
 vent the Illyrians and the neighboring states from at-  
 tacking Macedonia, he made a sudden expedition into  
 the territories of the Oricini<sup>b</sup>, and Apolloniates<sup>c</sup>. The

<sup>n</sup> Now *Langanico*.<sup>i</sup> Now *Zante*, an island on the west of *Peloponnesus*.<sup>k</sup> *Dragamesto*.<sup>l</sup> At the mouth of the *Acbelous*.<sup>a</sup> The birth place of Alexander the Great, between the mouths of the *Erigon* and *Lydius*.<sup>b</sup> Their capital, now call'd *Orco*.<sup>c</sup> Vol. iii.



latter came out to give him battle, but he drove them CHAP.  
in great terror and consternation into their city. XXV.

Having laid waste the adjacent parts of Illyricum, he marched with the same expedition to Pelagonia<sup>d</sup>. Then he took Sintia<sup>e</sup>, a city of the Dardans, bordering on Macedonia, to stop their passage into his kingdom. After these sudden expeditions, he applied himself to the war, which the Ætoliens and Romans jointly made upon him, and for that purpose marched down through Pelagonia, Lyncesta<sup>f</sup> and Bottiæa<sup>g</sup>, into Theffaly<sup>h</sup>. He imagined he could excite these nations to join him in his war against the Ætoliens; and leaving his son Perseus with 4000 men to prevent the Ætoliens from passing the straights of Theffaly, he himself, before he should be engaged in weightier affairs, returned to Macedonia, and from thence marched his troops against the Mædi in Thrace. These people used to make incursions upon Macedonia, whenever the king was employ'd in a foreign war, or they perceived that kingdom defenceless. Accordingly he begun to ravage the lands of Phragundæ<sup>i</sup>, and to besiege Topyris<sup>k</sup>, the capital of the Mædi. As soon as Scopas received advice that the king was engaged with a war in Thrace, he armed all the Ætolian youth, and prepared to attack the Acarnanians. The latter perceiving themselves incapable of making head against them and the Romans jointly, and that they were weaken'd by the loss of Oeniadæ and Naxos, took arms in despair, and unguided fury. Having sent into Epirus their wives, children, and all the old men above sixty, all the rest from fifteen to sixty took an oath not to return from the war except victorious, and not to admit to their city, houses, or tables, any who should quit the field after being vanquished. This most terrible imprecation they made

<sup>d</sup> Between the rivers *Axius* and *lyes* near *Achèron* between *Ætolia* and *Macedon*.

<sup>e</sup> On the north of *Macedon*, and now called *Chefia*.

<sup>f</sup> Now *Linceo*.

<sup>g</sup> On the gulph of *Therma*, which

<sup>h</sup> The Turks now call it *Commenolitari*.

<sup>i</sup> Unknown.

<sup>k</sup> Now *Pusio*.



CHAP.  
xxv.

on their countrymen who did so, and made the most solemn request to their friends the Epirotes, that they would use them in the same manner. Then they likewise requested of the latter, to bury those in one grave, with this inscription, *here lye the Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country against the violence and injustice of the Ætolians*. Being hereby greatly animated, they set out to meet the enemy on their frontiers. They likewise dispatched a courier to inform him of their danger. This obliged him to quit the war he was then engaged in, notwithstanding Topyris had surrendered to him, and he had met with great success otherwise. The report of the terrible oath the Acarnanians had taken, and the news of Philip's march, terrified the Ætolians, and made them retire to the centre of their dominions. In consequence, though Philip had made long marches to save the Acarnanians, he now advanced no farther than Dium<sup>1</sup>. For getting notice that the Ætolians had retired from Acarnania, he returned to Pella.

CHAP.  
xxvi.

EARLY in the spring Lævinus set sail with his fleet from Corcyra, and having doubled Cape Leucada, arrived at Naupactus<sup>a</sup>. Thence he sent word to Scopas with the Ætolians to meet him at Anticyra<sup>b</sup>, whither he was going. Anticyra is situated in the country of the Locri<sup>c</sup>, on the left hand going into the gulph of Lepanto. Levinus had but a short trip thither by sea, and the Ætolians a short march by land. In three days they both invested it. However it was battered with most vigor by sea, where the Romans attacked it with plenty of all kinds of engines. Accordingly it surrendered within a few days. The city was given to the Ætolians, and the booty to the Romans, as had been agreed on by treaty. Here Levinus received letters, informing him of his being chosen consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpicius was on his way to succede him. But being seized with a lingering distemper, he was later

<sup>1</sup> Now Stadium, on the Thermaic Gulph. the Turks Einebañi.

<sup>b</sup> Suola.

<sup>a</sup> The natives call it Epañor, and <sup>c</sup> In Achaia.



in arriving at Rome than was expected. Marcellus, CHAP.  
 having entered upon office on the fifteenth of March, XXVI.  
 assembled the senate that day only for form's sake,

declaring, ' that he would lay no matters relating  
 ' either to the city or provinces before them in the  
 ' absence of his colleague. I know, said he, there  
 ' are numbers of Sicilians in the neighborhood of  
 ' Rome, dispersed in the houses of those who envy  
 ' me. So far am I from desiring to stifle the ca-  
 ' lumnies and accusations my enemies at Rome have  
 ' invented against me, that I would this instant have  
 ' given them audience in the senate, if they had not  
 ' given out that they were afraid to accuse a consul in  
 ' the absence of his colleague. As soon as he shall  
 ' arrive, I shall not suffer any other affair to be  
 ' brought before you, till they are heard in the se-  
 ' nate. M. Cornelius, has in a manner beat a drum  
 ' through all Sicily, that he might send as many ac-  
 ' cusers to Rome against me as he could. To lessen  
 ' my reputation, he has filled the city with false as-  
 ' sertions, that the war was not terminated in Sicily.'  
 Having by this proceeding gained the character of  
 great moderation, he dismissed the senate. It seem-  
 ed all public business would be at a stand till the ar-  
 rival of the other consul. Inaction, as usual, excited  
 the murmurs of the people. They complained,  
 ' that by the continuance of the war, not only all  
 ' the lands round the city, especially those through  
 ' which Hannibal had passed, were ruined, but Ita-  
 ' ly exhausted by levies, and that every year they lost  
 ' great armies. Two illustrious warriors, enterpriz-  
 ' ing and active generals, had been chosen consuls,  
 ' who were capable of kindling wars in time of  
 ' peace, and never would suffer the people to breathe  
 ' in time of war.'

A FIRE, which broke out in several places a- CHAP.  
 bout the forum together, on the eve of a festival in XXVII.  
 honor of Minerva, called Quinquatrus, put a stop  
 to those seditious discourses. At the same time seven  
 inns, and then five goldsmiths shops, now called the  
 new




CHAP. new shops, took fire. Then it reached private  
 XXVII. houses. There were then no public halls in that part.  
 After that it took hold of the prisons, fish-market,  
 and the court of the old palace of their kings. The  
 temple of Vesta was with difficulty saved by the as-  
 sistance of 130 slaves, whose liberty were purchased  
 at the public charge. It appeared evidently to be the  
 effect of prepenſe malice, by it's breaking out in  
 many different places at the ſame time. In conſe-  
 quence the conſul, by order of the ſenate, promiſed  
 in public aſſembly a reward in money to a perſon of  
 free condition, and liberty to a ſlave, who ſhould  
 diſcover the authors of this fire. One Mannus, a  
 ſlave to the Calavii, who were originally Capuans,  
 induced by the reward, accuſed ‘ his maſters, and  
 ‘ five other young Capuan noblemen, whoſe fathers  
 ‘ had been beheaded by Fulvius; and that they had  
 ‘ other deſigns againſt Rome, if they were not ſeiz-  
 ‘ ed.’ They and their families were immediately  
 taken into cuſtody. At firſt they endeavored to in-  
 validate the teſtimony and credit of the diſcoverer,  
 by alledging, that being ſcourged the day before, he  
 had run away, and through reſentment and giddineſs  
 had formed his accuſation, from an incident entirely  
 accidental. But when they were confronted with  
 him, and they whom they had employ'd in this  
 wicked action begun to be publicly examined in the  
 forum, they all confeſſed, and both the maſters and  
 the ſlaves their accomplices were puniſhed as they de-  
 ſerved. The informer received his liberty, and a re-  
 ward of 20000 aſſes of braſs. As the conſul Lævi-  
 nus was paſſing by Capua, great numbers of Capu-  
 ans crowded about him, conjuring him with tears to  
 give them liberty to go to Rome, to implore the  
 mercy of the ſenate, if it was poſſible to melt it, and  
 that they would not ſuffer them to be utterly ruined,  
 and the very name of Capuan entirely aboliſhed by  
 Q. Flaccus. Flaccus urged in defence of his ſeverity,  
 that ‘ he had no perſonal hatred to the Capuans. He  
 ‘ hated them becauſe they were inveterate and decla-  
 ‘ red




' red enemies to Rome, and would treat them as  
 ' such as long as he was sensible they continued so  
 ' disposed towards Rome. That no people in the  
 ' world had so confirmed and implacable an enmity  
 ' to Rome. He had pen'd them close up within  
 ' their walls, because those of them that had got out  
 ' ranged up and down the country like wild beasts,  
 ' tearing and devouring whatever they met. Some  
 ' of them had fled to Hannibal, and others taken  
 ' refuge in Rome to set it on fire. The consul  
 ' would find in the forum, which was almost con-  
 ' sumed, traces of the Capuans wickedness. They  
 ' intended to have burnt the temple of Vesta, the  
 ' sacred fire, and the palladium, on which the fate  
 ' of the Roman empire depended, and which was  
 ' kept in the innermost part of the temple. He was  
 ' of opinion, that the Capuans should not be suffer-  
 ' ed to come within the walls of Rome.' Lævinus,  
 after Flaccus had made them take an oath, that they  
 would return to Capua five days after they should re-  
 ceive the senate's answer, ordered them to follow him  
 to Rome. Surrounded by this train, by the Sicili-  
 ans who came out to meet him and by the Ætolians,  
 he entered Rome, bringing along with him, to accuse  
 two generals who had acquired immortal fame by  
 subduing two such illustrious cities, the very people  
 they had conquered. However, the first thing the  
 consuls laid before the house was a state of the repub-  
 lic, and the provinces each was to act in.

THEN Lævinus gave an account of the state of  
 Macedonia, Greece, Ætolia, Acarnania and Locri,  
 and of his own conduct both by sea and land. He  
 had driven Philip, who made war against the Æto-  
 lians, into the centre of Macedonia, and that the  
 Roman legion might be brought back from that  
 country, for the fleet was sufficient to keep that king  
 out of Italy. The senate passed a decree, that Italy  
 and the war with Hannibal should be the province  
 of one of the consuls, and that the fleet which F.  
 Otacilius had commanded, and Sicily, should be that  
 of



CHAP. of the other, assisted by the prætor L. Cincius. The  
 XXVIII.  armies assigned them were the four legions then in  
 Hetruria and Gaul. The two legions that had  
 guarded the city the year before were ordered into  
 Hetruria, and the two which the consul Sulpicius  
 had commanded into Gaul. The consul of Italy was to  
 appoint an officer to command them. C. Calpurnius  
 was continued a year in command after the expiration  
 of his prætorship, and sent into Hetruria, and Q. Ful-  
 vius was continued another year at Capua. Then they  
 lessened the armies of Romans and allies. Two le-  
 gions were reduced to one, consisting of 5000 foot,  
 and 300 horse. Such as had served a great number  
 of campaigns, were discharged. Seven thousand foot  
 and 300 horse of the allies were left, with regard to  
 discharging whom, the same method had been ob-  
 served. Cn. Fulvius, consul of the preceding year,  
 was continued with the same army he had in Apulia.  
 His colleague Sulpicius was ordered to disband all his  
 troops, except the seamen. The consul was like-  
 wise ordered, as soon as he should arrive in Sicily,  
 to disband the troops commanded there by M. Cor-  
 nelius. The remains of the battle of Cannæ were al-  
 lotted to the prætor L. Cincius for the defence of Si-  
 cily. They amounted to near two legions. Two  
 legions were also voted to Volso prætor of Sardinia,  
 the same which L. Cornelius had in that province  
 the preceding year. The consuls were ordered in  
 levying the city legions, not to list any man that had  
 served in the armies of M. Claudius, M. Valerius  
 and Fulvius. Rome had this year but 21 legions on  
 foot.

CHAP. AFTER these allotments were finished, the con-  
 XXIX.  suls drew lots for the provinces. Marcellus got Si-  
 cily and the fleet, and Lævinus Italy and the war a-  
 gainst Hannibal. The Sicilians, who were stand-  
 ing in sight of the consuls, waiting the issue of the  
 lots, were as much struck with their having fallen to  
 Marcellus, as if Syracuse had been taken a second  
 time. Their lamentations and mournful outcries  
 drew the eyes of all the by-standers, and paved the



way soon after for different reflections. They went round the senators dressed in mourning, protesting, that each of them would not only abandon their native country, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should return to command there. If he had treated them with implacable fury without having done any thing to deserve it; what would he do now, when enraged at their having come to Rome to complain of his oppression. It would be better for their wretched island, to perish in the devouring flames of mount Ætna, or be swallowed up by the sea, than to be delivered up to the revenge of it's declared enemy.

CHAP.

XXIX.

These complaints, which were carried about and often repeated in the houses of the great, made different impressions on them, in proportion to their compassion for the Sicilians or envy of Marcellus, and at last reached even the senate. The consuls were desired to consult the fathers about an exchange of provinces. Marcellus answered, 'That had the Sicilians complaints been heard in the senate, he would perhaps have thought the motion unjust. But now, that none might say that fear tied up their tongues from complaining with entire liberty against an officer, who must shortly be their governor, he was willing to exchange provinces, if his colleague had no objection to it. He only beg'd the senate not to decide in favor of the Sicilians beforehand, by passing a decree for the exchange. For as it would have been unjust to have given his colleague his choice of the provinces, without drawing lots, how much greater an injury, nay affront, would it be to him, to transfer to Lævinus what was his by lot?' The senate, after having expressed their inclination, retired without interposing a decree. The consuls agreed to the exchange between themselves; fate hurrying on Marcellus against Hannibal, that as he was the first Roman who had the glory of defeating him, so he might be the last general who should enhance the Carthaginian's reputation by his fall, even in the midst of his greatest success in war.



## CHAP.

xxx.

AFTER the consuls had exchanged provinces the Sicilians had audience of the senate. There they lunched out in praise of the many faithful services king Hiero had done the Romans, making the merit of his actions derive to their whole body. ‘ Hieronymus, said they, and after him Hippocrates and ‘ Epicydes, their tyrants, had always been odious to ‘ them on many accounts; but in particular, for the ‘ siding with Hannibal against the Romans. For ‘ that reason Hieronymus had been assassinated almost ‘ by a general conspiracy of their principal youth, ‘ and seventy of the noblest of them had laid a scheme ‘ to cut off Epicydes and Hippocrates. But being ‘ abandoned by Marcellus, who did not advance with ‘ his army to Syracuse at the time before appointed, ‘ their designs were discovered and they all put to ‘ death by the tyrants. Nay Marcellus gave occasion ‘ to the tyranny of Epicydes and Hippocrates, by ‘ cruelly sacking Leontini. From that time the persons of greatest distinction in Syracuse had continually gone over to the pro-consul, and promised to betray the city to him when he pleased. But he desired rather to take it by storm. After he had tried to effect this by all means in his power both by sea and land, he chose to have it betray’d to him by Sosis a tinker, and Merci a Spaniard, rather than by the most considerable men in the place, who had voluntarily offered it, very often, but without success, that he might have the more plausible pretext for plundering and massacring the ancient allies of the Roman people. If not Hieronymus, but the senate and people of Syracuse, had revolted to Hannibal; if the Syracusan state and not the tyrants Hippocrates and Epicydes, by oppressing the inhabitants, had shut their gates against Marcellus; if they had made war against Rome with as much inveteracy as the Carthaginians; what act of hostility, what act of cruelty, could Marcellus have added to what he committed except levelling their city with the ground? In truth, he had left no-  
‘ thing



‘ thing at Syracuse but bare walls and empty houses, CHAP.  
 ‘ nay carried away the very ornaments of the tem- xxx.  
 ‘ ples of their Gods. Many of them had been stript  
 ‘ of all, and had not so much as a desolate field left  
 ‘ of all their estates, from whence to procure subsistence  
 ‘ for them and their wretched families. Therefore,  
 ‘ they conjured the conscript fathers, that if they  
 ‘ would not restore all to their former proprietors,  
 ‘ yet at least what could be found and claimed upon  
 ‘ knowledge.’ When they had finished their com-  
 ‘ plaints, Lævinus ordered them to withdraw, that the  
 ‘ senate might consider their requests. But Marcellus  
 ‘ said, ‘ No, let them stay, that I may answer in their  
 ‘ presence, since, conscript Fathers, the reward of  
 ‘ our making war for you, is to be accused, by those  
 ‘ whom our arms have conquered. Two cities taken  
 ‘ the same year, Capua and Syracuse, have arraigned  
 ‘ their vanquishers, Fulvius and Marcellus.”

ACCORDINGLY the deputies were recalled CHAP.  
 and the consul resumed his speech. ‘ Conscript fa- xxxi.  
 ‘ thers, said he, I have not so much forgot the ma-  
 ‘ jesty of the Roman people, and the dignity of my  
 ‘ present office, as to answer the accusation of the  
 ‘ Greeks in the character of consul, if there was the  
 ‘ least reason to suspect me to be guilty. The pre-  
 ‘ sent question is not so much to enquire into my  
 ‘ actions, as into the punishment they deserve. If  
 ‘ they had not been our enemies, there is no difference  
 ‘ between my having injured Syracuse at this present  
 ‘ time, and having done so during the life of Hiero.  
 ‘ But if they revolted, if they attacked our embassa-  
 ‘ dors sword in hand, if they shut their gates against  
 ‘ us, if they called in a Carthaginian army to de-  
 ‘ fend them against us ; who can think it intolerable  
 ‘ that they have suffered the calamities of war, after  
 ‘ having committed such acts of hostility ? It is said,  
 ‘ I neglected the offers of the principal Syracusans to  
 ‘ betray the city to me ; and prefer’d Sosis, and Meric  
 ‘ the Spaniard, nay confided in none but them.  
 ‘ You sure must be illustrious Syracusans, who re-



## CHAP.

XXXI.

reproach others with the meannesses of their condition.  
 And yet pray which of you came to me and promised to open your gates and let in my soldiers? You hate and curse them who did, and even in this place cannot forbear reviling them, so far is it from being true, that you would have done what they did. Conscrip̄t fathers, this very meanness of condition with which they reproach these men, is a clear demonstration, that I did not neglect any person, who shewed an inclination to serve our republic. Before I invested Syracuse, I try'd every method to bring about a peace, by sending ambassadors to them, and by going in person to confer with them. After they had abused my deputies; when they did not deign to give me answer when I went up to their gates with their principal men; after I had suffered the most extreme hardships both by sea and land, I at length took Syracuse by storm and force of arms. As to the treatment they met with, they ought rather to complain of it to Hannibal and the Carthaginians vanquished with them, than to the senate of the victorious nation. Conscrip̄t fathers, if I had ever intended to deny, that I plundered Syracuse, would I have adorned Rome with it's spoils? As to what I as conqueror either took from or gave to any person, I am certain I can justify it both by the laws of war and the desert of the persons. It belongs to you to authorize what I have done: It concerns the state more than me. I have discharged the trust reposed in me faithfully; the state alone can be affected by your reversing what I have done; for it may render future generals less zealous for her good. And to conclude, conscrip̄t fathers, since you have heard both what the Sicilians and I have said face to face, let us both withdraw together, that my presence may be no obstacle to the freedom of your debates. Accordingly the Sicilians withdrew, and the consul went to the capitol to make the levies.

THE other consul then laid the demands of the  
Sicilians



Sicilians before the fathers for their opinions. The debates were long and warm. But at length many members agreed to the opinion of T. Manlius Torquatus, who said, ‘ that the war had been made against tyrants, who were equally enemies to the Romans and Syracusans. The city ought to have been delivered, but not taken, as belonging to an enemy ; and when taken, should have been restored to it’s former laws and liberty, without suffering the calamities of war after it had been oppressed by a miserable slavery. A most beautiful and noble city had been ruined, by being the prize of the conqueror in the contests between the tyrants and the Roman general ; a city which had formerly been the granary and treasury of Rome, and by whose munificence and presents their state had been relieved and adorned at many different times, nay even during the present Carthaginian war. If king Hiero, the most faithful ally of the Romans, were to rise from the dead, with what face could either Syracuse or Rome be shewn him ? when after having seen his native country plundered and almost razed, he should at his entering Rome view the spoils of his dear Syracuse in the porch and even almost in the gates of our city.’ Notwithstanding these and such like severe declamations, proceeding partly from envy of Marcellus, and partly from pity for the Sicilians, the senate favor’d the consul and passed a very moderate decree. ‘ They confirmed all he had done during the war and since his conquest. For the future the senate would take care of the interests of Syracuse, and ordered the consul Lævinus to afford them all the relief he was capable without detriment to the Roman republic.’ Then two senators were sent to the capitol, to desire the consul to return to the senate house, and when the Sicilians were called in, the senate’s decree was read. The deputies being dismissed with great marks of civility, threw themselves at Marcellus’s feet, conjuring him, ‘ to pardon what they had said with the sole



‘ view of exciting compassion by exaggerating the  
 ‘ calamities of their country, and that he would take  
 ‘ them and Syracuse under his protection and patro-  
 ‘ nage.’ Marcellus treated them very graciously  
 and then dismissed them.

CHAP.

XXXIII.

THEN the Capuans had audience of the se-  
 nate. Their speech was very lamentable and mov-  
 ing, but their case more unfavorable. They could  
 neither deny, that they had deserved punishment,  
 nor could they charge tyrants with any of their crimes;  
 but they imagined, that the great number of their  
 senators that had been poisoned and beheaded had  
 sufficiently atoned for their faults. ‘ Only a few,  
 ‘ added they, of our nobles remain, whose consciences  
 ‘ have not reproached them with so heinous crimes,  
 ‘ as to induce them to put an end to their own lives,  
 ‘ and whom the relentless conqueror had not put to  
 ‘ death. It was they who beg’d for liberty for them-  
 ‘ selves and their children, and for some part of their  
 ‘ estates. Remember, most of them are related to you  
 ‘ by alliance or blood, since the right of intermarrying  
 ‘ with Roman citizens had formerly been granted  
 ‘ them.’ Being ordered to withdraw, it was for  
 some time debated, whether they should recal Fulvius  
 from Capua, for Claudius had died since the taking  
 of that city, in order that he might be heard in an  
 affair which as general he was personally concerned  
 in, as had been done in the case of Marcellus and the  
 Sicilians. But seeing in the senate house, M. Atilius  
 and C. Fulvius, Flaccus’s brother, and both his  
 lieutenants; and Q. Minucius and L. Veturius Claudi-  
 us’s lieutenants, who had been present at every thing  
 that was done, they did not think proper either to recal  
 Fulvius, or delay taking the case of the Capuans un-  
 der consideration. M. Atilius Regulus, the officer  
 of greatest authority who had served at Capua, being  
 asked his opinion, spoke to this effect. ‘ I assisted  
 ‘ the pro-consuls in the council of war after the tak-  
 ‘ ing of Capua. The question was then, if any of  
 ‘ the Capuans deserved favor from our republic. We  
 ‘ found



‘ found only two women then living at Capua, CHAP.  
 ‘ Vesta Oppia of Atella, and Faucula Cluvia for- XXXIII.  
 ‘ merly a courtesan. The former daily offered up  
 ‘ sacrifice for the safety and success of the Romans.  
 ‘ The latter secretly supply’d our starving prisoners  
 ‘ with provisions. All the rest of the Capuans were  
 ‘ as ill disposed towards us as the Carthaginians were.  
 ‘ Q. Fulvius beheaded rather the most distinguished  
 ‘ than the most criminal of them. For any thing  
 ‘ farther, I do not see how the senate can decide in  
 ‘ the case of the Capuans, who are Roman citizens,  
 ‘ without the consent of the people. Our ancestors  
 ‘ observed the same method in the case of the Satri-  
 ‘ cani, when they rebelled; M. Antistius a plebeian  
 ‘ tribune brought in a bill to the people, which they  
 ‘ confirmed by an ordinance, empowering the senate  
 ‘ to judge the Satricani. Therefore I am of opinion,  
 ‘ that application should be made to the plebeian tri-  
 ‘ bunes, that one or more or of them would make a  
 ‘ motion to the people to empower us to decide final-  
 ‘ ly in the case of the Capuans.’ By order of the  
 senate L. Atilius the tribune brought in the following  
 bill to the people. ‘ I desire to know your pleasure con-  
 ‘ cerning all the Capuans, Atellans, Calatini and Sab-  
 ‘ batini, whom the pro-consul Fulvius has subdued  
 ‘ and subjected to the Romans, and concerning their  
 ‘ lands, cities, moveables, sacred and profane, and  
 ‘ every thing else they have forfeited.’ The people  
 replied, ‘ Our will and pleasure is, that the senate  
 ‘ now assembled decide the affair proposed by a ma-  
 ‘ jority of voices, after being sworn.

IN consequence of this power from the people, CHAP.  
 the senate decreed, in the first place, ‘ that Oppia XXXIV.  
 ‘ and Cluvia should be restored to their estates and  
 ‘ liberty. If they desired to ask any other reward  
 ‘ from the senate, they might repair to Rome.’ De-  
 crees were made in respect to each family in Capua,  
 which it would be too tedious to relate at large. The  
 effects of some were confiscated, themselves their  
 wives and children, except such daughters as had



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been married out of Capua before the Romans became masters of it, should be sold for slaves: Others were to be reserved in prison till their fate should afterwards be finally determined. Concerning others they decreed, according to the great or small value of their estates, so as to confiscate the goods of some, and leave to others theirs. ‘ They decreed that all the cattle, except horses, all the slaves, except the males arrived at the age of puberty, and all the moveables should be restored to their masters. That all the Capuans, Atellani, Calatini and Sabatini, should be free, except such who either themselves or their parents were with the enemy, provided none that were citizens of Rome or Latins, nor any who were in Capua when the gates were shut against the Romans, staid within the city or territories of Capua after a fixed day: A habitation should be assigned them beyond the Tyber, but not on the banks of it. That such as were not shut up in Capua or any rebellious city of Campania during the war should live on this side the Liris towards Rome, and such as had come over to the Romans, before Hannibal came to raise the siege of Capua, should remove to this side the Volturno. All these were forbidden to build houses, or purchase lands within less than fifteen miles of the sea. Those who should settle beyond the Tyber, should be confined to the territories of Veii, Nepete, or Sutrium, and should not possess more than fifty acres of land. That all the senators and magistrates of Capua, Atella, and Calatia, should have their effects confiscated at Capua. That such persons of free condition as should be thought fit to sell, should be brought to Rome and exposed to sale there. They ordered, that with regard to the paintings, and brazen statues said to have been taken from the enemy, the pontifs should decide what of them should be deemed sacred and what profane.’ On account of this decree the Capuans went from Rome in greater affliction than when they came. They no longer in-

veighed



weighed against the cruelty of Q. Fulvius, but accused the injustice of the Gods and their own wretched fortune.

AFTER the Sicilians and Capuans were dismissed, the levies were made. When the land forces were completed, they begun to think of means to man the fleet. But as there were neither sufficient numbers of men for that purpose, nor money in the public treasury to hire them, the consuls issued an edict, ordering, that private persons, according to their ranks and estates, should furnish seamen with pay and provisions for thirty days. This edict raised so universal a murmur and so great a discontent, as would have ended in a sedition, if they had not wanted a leader. After having ruined the Sicilians and Capuans, the consuls had undertaken to crush and tear to pieces the Roman people. Exhausted by the taxes they had paid during so many years, they had nothing left, but waste and desolate lands. The enemy had burnt their farms, and the state taken away the slaves that cultivated them, sometimes by purchasing them for land service at an under price, and sometimes by ordering them to serve in the fleet. The taxes and pay of the seamen stripped them of the little money they had. No violence, no command could oblige them to give what they had not. The consuls might sell their effects, and then sell their persons, the only thing they had left. What they had remaining would not suffice to pay their ransom.' These murmurs were not uttered in secret, but openly before the consuls faces, by whole crowds that surrounded them. These magistrates could neither appease them by gentle usage, tender speeches, or reprimands. Then they gave them three days to consider of the edict; and the consuls spent that time in searching out remedies for it. Accordingly next day they assembled the senate to deliberate on ways and means to man the fleet. After much debate about the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the people's refusal, they concluded, that

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that whether it was an oppression or not, that burden must be laid on private persons. Where else, since there was no money in the treasury, could they get seamen? Without a fleet how could they preserve Sicily, keep Philip out of Italy, or defend it's coasts?

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IN this perplexing situation the senators being greatly embarrassed, and their minds as it were stupified, the consul Lævinus addressed them thus. As in rank the magistrates are above the senators, and the latter above the people, so they ought to set them a precedent in bearing all heavy and oppressive burdens. If one would impose a heavy tax upon an inferior, the means to make him cheerfully and willingly submit to it, is first to resolve to impose it on one's self and one's family. They will feel the expence less, when they see the great take more upon themselves than they are well able to pay. Therefore, if we desire that the Roman people should have a fleet well equip'd, and that private persons without repugnance should furnish seamen, let us begin first ourselves to comply with the edict. Let as many of us as are senators, to morrow carry in all our gold, silver, and copper money into the public treasury, keeping only rings for ourselves, our wives, and our daughters, and the bullæ for our sons. Such as have wives and daughters, may keep an ounce of gold to serve as ornaments for each. Those who have born curule magistracies, may keep the furniture of their horses, and a silver cup of a pound weight, for salt and libations to be used in sacrifices. Let all the other senators retain a pound weight of silver, and each master of a family 5000 asses of brass. But let us immediately carry all the rest of our gold, silver, or copper money, to the officers of the treasury without any decree of senate; that our voluntary contribution, and our generous efforts to serve our country, may excite first in the knights, and then in the rest of the people, an emulation

lation



‘ lation of our bounty. This is the only expedient CHAP.  
‘ my colleague and I, after many conferences, could xxxvi.  
‘ fall on. With the assistance of the Gods, let us  
‘ put it in execution. Saving the state is the surest  
‘ way to save individuals, and betraying the interests  
‘ of the public will never secure your own.’ This  
proposal was so unanimously approved, that the consuls had the thanks of the senate. When the house broke up, each senator carried in his gold, silver and copper money into the public treasury, and threw it in with so much emulation, that they strove who should have their names first entered in the registers, and neither the officers had time to receive it, nor the clerks to enter it. The knights imitated this unanimous zeal of the senators, and the people that of the knights. Thus without any edict, without the magistrates using any compulsion, the commonwealth got seamen sufficient, and money to pay them. Thus every thing being prepared for opening the campaign, the consuls set out for their respective provinces.

NEVER was there a period in this war, where- CHAP.  
in, by losses being equal, the Carthaginians and xxxvii.  
Romans had so much to fear and to hope. The affairs of the provinces yielded Rome a mixture of grief and joy. She had reason to lament their ill fortune in Spain, and to rejoice on account of their good in Sicily. In Italy the loss of Tarentum was a great prejudice to them, and gave them great pain, while the thoughts of having kept out the citadel with a garison beyond all expectation yielded them great pleasure. The sudden terror and consternation which seized them on the apprehension of being besieged in their capital, was turned into gladness, by the taking of Capua a few days after. Their affairs in Macedon and Greece were likewise in a kind of equilibrio. Philip had become their enemy at a conjuncture very unseasonable for them; while by their new alliance with the Ætolians and Attalus king of Asia, fortune promised them the empire of the east.



CHAP. east. On the other side, the Carthaginians concern  
 xxxvii. for the loss of Capua, balanced their joy for having  
 taken Tarentum. And as they had been extremely  
 elated with their march to the walls of Rome, so  
 were they daunted at the ill success of that enterprize.  
 They were vexed to see the Romans despise them so  
 much, as while they lay before the walls, to send a-  
 way an army for Spain out at another gate. The  
 greater hope they had likewise conceived of having  
 terminated the war in Spain, and driven the Romans  
 thence by the slaughter of the two Scipio's with their  
 armies, they were the more enraged to think that the  
 consequences of that victory had been entirely frustra-  
 ted and dispel'd in smoke by L. Marcius, chosen ge-  
 neral of the Romans they knew not how. Thus for-  
 tune on both sides seemed to hold an equal balance,  
 and keep every thing in suspense ; so that each had  
 quite as much to fear and to hope, as they had at  
 the first commencement of hostilities between them.

CHAP. WHAT gave the Carthaginian most pain, was,  
 xxxviii. that his faint defence of Capua, while the Romans  
 attacked it with incredible and unabating vigor, had  
 alienated the affections of many states in Italy from  
 him. Neither could he put garisons into them all to  
 keep them in awe, without dividing his army into  
 small parties, which was very inconvenient for him  
 at that time ; nor draw off his garisons and leave the  
 fidelity of his allies free, either to go over to where  
 they saw greater hopes of protection, or continue in  
 daily apprehension of being attacked by the enemy.  
 As he was both avaricious and cruel, he resolved to  
 plunder and sack every place which he could not de-  
 fend, and to leave the enemy nothing but ruins. But  
 this resolution was as fatal in the event, as horrid in  
 the conception. For he hereby not only alienated  
 the affections of those whom he treated so inhumanly,  
 but even of the rest. A few only felt the calamity,  
 but the example extended to many. The Roman  
 consul too was vigilant in bringing over the states he  
 had the least hopes of gaining. Dasius and Blasius  
 were



were the two principal men of Salapia, the former a CHAP. friend to Hannibal, and the latter promoted the Ro- xxxviii. man interest as much as he could with safety. He had even sent private messengers to Marcellus, and given him hopes of having the city betray'd to him, but he could not accomplish this design without the assistance of Dasius. After long and deep deliberation, he opened himself to him rather for want of other means, than in hopes of success. Dasius, who both disliked the project, and hated Blasius his rival in the government of the city, discovered the affair to Hannibal. Upon this the Carthaginian cited both before him. As Hannibal was dispatching other matters, that he might the sooner examine Blasius, and the criminal and his accuser stood together at a distance from the multitude, Blasius again solicited Dasius to assist him in delivering up the city to the consul. The latter, as if the affair had been beyond doubt, cried out that his rival was soliciting him to betray the city even before Hannibal's face. As this seemed too audacious an action, the Carthaginian and those present gave little credit to the accusation, which they believed was the effect of emulation and envy, and might be the more easily invented, as there was no witness to prove it. Therefore he dismissed them both. However this did not hinder Blasius from prosecuting his bold project, till, by continual importunities, and remonstrating how advantageous it would be both to them and to their country, he prevailed with him to deliver up the Numidian garison, which consisted of 500 men, and Salapia to Marcellus. But this could not be effected without great bloodshed, as they were the flower of Hannibal's army. In consequence, though they were surprized, and could make no use of their horses in the city, they took their arms in midst of the tumult, and attempted to make their escape. But when they saw they were not able to force a passage, they died almost all sword in hand. For not above 50 of them were taken alive. Hannibal sustained more  
real



real detriment by the loss of this squadron, than by that of Salapia. For from that time he never gained the superiority with his cavalry, in which the strength of his army before consisted.

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xxxix.

AT the same time the famine in the citadel of Tarentum was almost insupportable, and all the hopes of the garison and their commander Livius depended on supplies from Sicily. In order to secure their passage along the coasts of Italy, a fleet of 20 sail was stationed at Rhegium. D. Quinctius, a man of obscure birth, who had signalized himself by many brave and glorious exploits in war, commanded it. At first Marcellus had given him the command of five vessels, the largest of which were two triremes, to which, for his good service on several occasions, the consul added three quinqueremes. At last, by demanding the number stipulated by treaty from the Rhegians and other allies, he got as many from Velia and Pæstum, as composed the fleet of 20 sail which we have mentioned before. Having with this squadron set sail from Rhegium, he was met about fifteen miles from thence by Dimocrates, with an equal number of Tarentine vessels under his command. The Roman admiral, who did not expect to come to an engagement, had set out under sail; but having supplied his ships with rowers at Croton and Sibaris, his fleet was extremely well man'd and equip'd in proportion to it's bigness. It happened accidentally that their wind failed at the very time the enemy came in sight, so that they had time sufficient to furl their sails, sit on their oars, and get ready their marines for the approaching action. Never did two fleets engage with greater ardor; for more was at stake than the value of the vessels. The Tarentines fought to deliver their citadel from the Romans, having recovered their city itself after they had been masters of it near 100 years; and were animated with the hopes of cutting off the enemies from all supplies of provisions, in case they should gain the superiority at sea. The Romans, on the other hand,



hand, were to shew, by keeping possession of the citadel, that Tarentum was lost by treachery and fraud, not by force or bravery. Accordingly, when both had given the signal, and run full tilt against each other with their beaks, they did not suffer their own ships, or the enemy's, to be shoved back in order to return in the same manner, but threw their grappling irons into the first vessel they could get hold of. By this means they fought board to board, not only with missile weapons, but with their swords. All the prows were fast grappled together, and the poops driven about by the oars of each party. Nay the vessels were so close, that not one dart fell into the water between. They fought in a firm front as if they had been at land, and the combatants could pass out of one ship into another. However, the battle was most remarkably fierce between two vessels in the front. One was the Roman admiral's ship, and the other a Tarentine, in which was Nico Preco, who hated the Romans, not only on account of the rupture between the two states, but on another score, because he was of that faction which had betray'd Tarentum to Hannibal. This Tarentine wounded Quinctius with a spear as he was fighting unguardedly, and animating his men. So he fell headlong with his arms from the fore-castle into the sea. The victorious Nico jump'd nimbly on board the Roman ship, where all was in confusion for the loss of their admiral, and drove them from the fore-castle, of which he made himself master. While the Romans, who were crowded on the quarter, made but a faint resistance, a trireme of the enemy's attacked their poop. Being thus surrounded, their ship was taken. Seeing the admiral's ship taken, struck so great a terror into the rest of their fleet, that they fled on all sides. Some were sunk, and others being driven ashore, were immediately seized by the Thurini and Metapontines. Few of the transports, that followed with the stores, fell into the enemy's hands. The rest every where bore away before the wind, accord-

CHAP.

xxxix.



CHAP. according as it blew, and escaped into the main sea.  
 xxxix. But at the same time the Tarentines had not such  
 { good fortune at home. For Livius, governor of the  
 citadel, watching to take advantage of every opportunity,  
 detached C. Perſius, an active officer, with 2000 men,  
 to fall on 4000 Tarentines diſperſed over the fields foraging.  
 Having attacked them ſtraggling on all ſides, and made a  
 great ſlaughter of them, he drove the few that remained  
 with ſuch precipitation to their city, that the gates were  
 only half open'd, for fear he ſhould enter pell mell  
 with them. Thus the Tarentines and Romans were upon  
 a par, the latter being victorious by land, and the former  
 by ſea.

CHAP. ABOUT the ſame time when the year was far  
 xl. { advanced, the conſul Lævinus arrived in Sicily,  
 where he had been impatiently expected, both by old  
 and new allies. He thought the firſt and principal  
 thing he ought to ſet about, was to ſettle the affairs  
 of Syracuſe, which the new peace they had obtained  
 had not been capable of re-inſtating. Then he led his  
 troops againſt Agrigentum, the only place that held  
 out for the enemy, and had a Carthaginian garriſon.  
 He was ſo fortunate as to ſucceſs in this enterprize.  
 Hanno commanded the Carthaginians, but his ſole  
 dependance was upon Mutines and the Numidians.  
 Mutines ranged all over Sicily, driving off booty  
 from the Roman allies, nor could he by any force or  
 ſtratagem be intercepted coming in, or hindered from  
 ſallying out of Agrigentum when he pleaſed. The  
 glory he acquired by this conduct, eclipsed the  
 reputation of his general, and at laſt excited his  
 envy; ſo that Mutines's ſucceſs always gave Hanno  
 pain, on account of the perſon who gained them.  
 At laſt he took his commiſſion from him, and gave  
 it to his own ſon, imagining that when he had no  
 command over the Numidians, he would be diſregarded  
 by them. But his envy only augmented their affection  
 for him. Neither was Mutines able to bear the affront;  
 ſo he ſent privately a meſſenger to Lævinus to treat  
 about betraying the city. After they



they had agreed on terms, and the manner in which to effect it, the Numidians seized the gate next to the sea, and having either killed or driven away the guards at it, let in the Romans, who had come thither for the purpose. When they had advanced in a body into the middle of the city and the forum, they raised a terrible alarm. Hanno, imagining it to proceed from a mutiny of the Numidians, who were going off as before, came out to appease the sedition. But perceiving at a distance a greater body than the Numidians made, and hearing the well known shouts of the Romans, he fled before a blow was struck. He escaped through the back-gate with Epicydes, and repaired with a small train to the sea-side, where luckily finding a small vessel, they abandoned to their enemies the possession of Sicily, which they had disputed with their swords during so many years, and sailed over to Africa. Another body of Carthaginians and Sicilians ran blindly and with precipitation towards the gates, which they found shut, and were all cut to pieces near them. When the town was taken, Lævinus caused the principal Agrigentines to be beheaded, after having been scourged with rods. He sold the rest of the inhabitants and the booty, and remitted all the money to Rome. The accounts of the fate of Agrigentum, having spread all over Sicily, induced the whole states in it to submit to the Romans. In a short time twenty were betray'd, and six taken by storm, and about forty surrendered voluntarily. The consul punished and rewarded the principal men of each according to their deserts, and having disarmed all the Sicilians, obliged them to apply to the cultivating their lands, that this fertile island might not only produce subsistence for it's inhabitants, but supply the wants of Rome and Italy, as it had often done on former occasions. He brought an undisciplined rabble with him from Agathyrna. Four thousand men of different countries, outlaws, bankrupts and felons, who were not allowed to live in their native



cities, after various fortune chanced all to meet at Agathyrna, where they lived by robbing and ravaging the country. Lævinus did not think it safe to leave this lawless crew to excite revolutions, or disturb the newly established peace of Sicily. Besides the Rhegians wanted such a troop, accustomed to robbing and thieving, to ravage the lands of the Bruttians. Thus the war in Sicily was terminated this year.

## CHAP.

XLI.

IN Spain P. Scipio early in the spring launched his ships, and issued a proclamation for all the allies auxiliaries to rendezvous at Tarraco. From thence he ordered his fleet and transports to repair to the mouth of the Ebro. Having likewise ordered his legions to the same place, he set out from Tarraco, and joined the army with 5000 allies. Thinking it necessary on his arrival to harangue his troops, in particular the veterans, who had survived so many defeats, he assembled them, and spoke to this effect.

‘ I am the first new general, who could with justice  
 ‘ and reason thank his troops for their services, be-  
 ‘ fore he had employ’d them. Fortune laid me un-  
 ‘ der obligations to you before I saw this province  
 ‘ or your camp. In the first place, for the affectio-  
 ‘ nate zeal you expressed for my father and uncle,  
 ‘ during their lives, and since their death. In the  
 ‘ next place, for preserving by your valor to me  
 ‘ their successor, and to the Roman people, the pos-  
 ‘ session of this province, which was lost by that  
 ‘ great defeat. But since, with the assistance of the  
 ‘ Gods, it is my fixed purpose and resolution not to  
 ‘ stay in Spain with my army, but even to drive the  
 ‘ Carthaginian out of it; not to stand on the banks  
 ‘ of the Ebro, to prevent their passing it, but to pass  
 ‘ it ourselves, and carry the war into their domini-  
 ‘ ons; I am afraid that some of you think this a  
 ‘ more important and bold enterprize than will suit  
 ‘ with your remembrance of the late defeats and my  
 ‘ want of years. None can retain so long and deep  
 ‘ a sense of those foils as I, who there lost a father  
 ‘ and an uncle within the space of thirty days, that  
 ‘ our



our family might be afflicted with one death on the neck of another. But as this desolation in our family, this my orphan state, depress my spirits; so the public fortune and virtue forbids me to despair: for it is our destiny and fate to come off victorious in the end after the loss of many considerable battles. Let me not instance former wars with Porfena, the Gauls and Samnites, but begin with the Carthaginian. How many fleets, how many generals, how many armies did we lose in the first Carthaginian war? What can I say of the present war? I was either present in all the battles, or if not, yet felt the smart of them more than any one else. What else are the fields of Trebia, Thrasymen and Cannæ, but monuments of our slaughtered armies and consuls? Add to this, the revolt of Italy, the greatest part of Sicily and Sardinia. Add to it the last alarm and panic we felt when Hannibal encamped between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and the conqueror seen almost in our very gates. In this universal ruin and defection, the virtue of the Roman people remained firm and unshaken. This alone hath revived and raised up every thing which in a manner lay levelled with the ground. You, fellow soldiers, first of all after the defeat of Cannæ, under the command and auspices of my father, stopt Asdrubal in his march to the Alps and Italy, where, had he joined his brother, the Roman name had been this day exterminated. Now, by the kindness of the Gods, every thing in Italy and Sicily prospers and succeeds, and we have daily more and more cause of joy. In Sicily we have taken Syracuse and Agrigentum, driven the enemy entirely out of the island, and reduced that whole province in subjection to Rome. In Italy Arpi is reduced and Capua taken; Hannibal has fled precipitately from our capital, and retired into the furthestmost corner of Bruttium; now, his only petition to the Gods is, that they would grant him a safe escape out of his



enemy's country. What, my brave foldiers, can  
 be more abſurd, than for you, who with my pa-  
 rents (indeed both your generals deſerved that ho-  
 norable title) prop'd the tottering ſtate of Rome,  
 when ſhe received defeat on the neck of defeat,  
 and the very Gods took part with the Carthagini-  
 an; what, I ſay, can be more abſurd, than for  
 you to deſpond and be diſcouraged now, when  
 ſhe ſucceeds in all her enterprizes? As to the late  
 miſfortunes in this province, would to God they  
 had paſſed without occaſioning grief either to you  
 or me. Now the immortal Gods, guardians of  
 the Roman empire, who inſpired the centuries  
 unaniſmouſly to confer this command on me, by  
 auguries, auſpices, and nocturnal viſions, preſage  
 to me glory and ſucceſs. Nay, the forebodings of  
 my own heart, which hitherto hath been an infal-  
 lible oracle, tell me, that we ſhall conquer Spain;  
 that in a ſhort time we ſhall drive the Carthaginian  
 hence, and make both ſea and land witneſſes of  
 their ſhameful flight. And reaſon, that unerring  
 judge, ſeconds the free preſages of my heart.  
 Their allies, oppreſſed by them, ſend deputations  
 to implore our protection. So great a miſunder-  
 ſtanding ſubſiſts among their three generals, that  
 they have in a manner abandoned each other, and  
 gone in three ſeparate bodies into corners of the  
 country very remote from one another. The very  
 ſame circumſtance which lately occaſioned our de-  
 feat, threatens them with deſtruction. They are  
 abandoned by their allies, as we were before by the  
 Celtiberians; and they have divided their troops,  
 the very thing that proved the ruin of my father  
 and uncle. The diſputes and diſguſts among them-  
 ſelves will prevent the union of their forces, and  
 none of them is our match ſingly. Now, fellow  
 foldiers, only ſhew your affection to the name of  
 Scipio, to me, deſcended from your former gene-  
 rals, and ſo to ſpeak, a branch ſpringing up from  
 the old ſtock. Come, do you, who have long



‘ served in this province, lead this army of recruits,  
 ‘ and your new general over the Ebro ; lead us into  
 ‘ a country, which you have often traversed, and  
 ‘ where you have performed many noble exploits.  
 ‘ As you now perceive in me a resemblance to my  
 ‘ father and uncle’s features, complexion and pro-  
 ‘ portion, so it shall be my study to shew you in a  
 ‘ very short time, that I so exactly resemble them in  
 ‘ disposition, honor and courage, that each of you  
 ‘ shall say you see Scipio revived and still living in  
 ‘ his son.’

AFTER this animating discourse, having left CHAP.  
 M. Silanus 3000 foot and 300 horse to guard that XLII.  
 country, he passed the Ebro with the rest of his  
 troops, which amounted to 25000 foot and 2500 horse.  
 Many advised him to take advantage of the separa-  
 tion of the three Carthaginian armies and fall on that  
 which was next him. But he considered the danger  
 of such proceeding, that it would draw them all upon  
 him at once. Therefore as he was not able to make  
 head against them if they should unite, he resolved  
 in the mean time to lay siege to New Carthage, a  
 city very rich in itself and at that time full of the ene-  
 mies stores. There they laid up all their arms, all  
 their money, and there they kept all their hostages.  
 Besides it’s being commodiously situated for passing  
 over into Africa, it had a haven capable of receiving  
 any fleet, and if I am not mistaken, the only Spanish  
 port that lyes on our sea. None but C. Lælius was  
 privy to this design. To him Scipio had entrusted  
 the command of the fleet with orders to regulate his  
 course in such a manner, that the army might ap-  
 pear before the city by land and the fleet enter the har-  
 bor both at the same time. In seven days after they  
 set out. Thus he invested it by sea and land on the  
 north. He fortified the back side of his camp with  
 a double rampart, but not the front of it, which was  
 sufficiently secured by nature. It stands in a gulph in  
 the middle of the coast of Spain towards the south-  
 west, running about half a mile in land, and some-



CHAP. XLII. what more than half a mile broad. In the entrance of this gulph is a small island towards the open sea, which defends the bason from all winds except the south-west. At the bottom of the gulph projects an eminence in form of a peninsula, and upon it is the city built, with the sea on the south and east: on the west it is defended by a lake which extends a little way towards the north, and has not always the same depth of water, which is higher or lower according to the flux and reflux of the tides. The city is joined to the continent by a hill near 250 paces in breadth. Though it would have been easy to have fortified this isthmus, yet the Roman general threw up no lines, either from a vanity of shewing the enemy his confidence, or that he might have no obstacle in his approaches to and retreats from the walls.

CHAP. XLIII. WHEN he had finished what fortifications he intended by land, he formed his fleet in a line with the harbor, to invest the city by sea. He went round all the captains of the fleet, exhorting them to keep a strict watch by night. Then returning to his camp he assembled his troops in order to lay before them his reasons for opening the campaign with the siege of this city, and to encourage them with the hopes of taking it. ‘ If any of you, fellow soldiers, said he, ‘ imagine, that I have brought you here to attack ‘ a single city, without farther view, he considers ‘ only the fatigue you will undergo, but not the advantages that will derive from it. It is true, you ‘ assault the walls only of one city, but by taking ‘ it you become masters of all Spain. Here is the confidence of the hostages of all the Spanish nobility, ‘ princes and states. As soon as you have got them ‘ into your hands, they will immediately deliver up ‘ to the Romans every thing now in possession of the ‘ Carthaginians. Here is all the enemies money, ‘ without which they can’t prosecute the war, as their ‘ army consists of mercenaries who must be paid, ‘ and which will be of great use to us in gaining the ‘ affections of the barbarians. Here are all their ‘ stores,



‘ stores, engines and machines of war, the taking of  
 ‘ which will leave the enemy defenceless, and furnish  
 ‘ you in plenty. Besides possessing ourselves of a  
 ‘ most beautiful and opulent city, we shall at the  
 ‘ same time become master of a most commodious  
 ‘ and important port, by which we may be supplied  
 ‘ with all the necessaries of war both by sea and land.  
 ‘ All these will be very considerable advantages to  
 ‘ us, but a much greater loss in proportion to the  
 ‘ enemy. This is their citadel, their magazine of  
 ‘ provisions, their treasury, their arsenal, in a word,  
 ‘ their store-house for every thing. From hence we  
 ‘ have a direct course to Africa: This is the securest  
 ‘ station for a fleet between the Pyrenees and Cadiz,  
 ‘ and by being in possession of this the Carthaginians  
 ‘ command all Spain. But as I am sensible you are  
 ‘ ready and prepared, let us advance to assault New  
 ‘ Carthage with all our vigor, and with undaunted  
 ‘ courage.’ When they all shouted, ‘ Let your pro-  
 ‘ ject be executed,’ he led them on, ordering the  
 assault to be made both by sea and land.

CHAP.  
XLIII.

M A G O, the Carthaginian governor in the place,  
 seeing it invested both by sea and land, disposed his  
 troops for it's defence in the following manner. He  
 posted 2000 of the inhabitants on the side facing the  
 Roman lines; left 500 men in the citadel, and 500  
 more upon the hill on the east. The rest of the mul-  
 titude had orders to hold themselves in readiness to  
 assist, wherever any sudden alarm should call them.  
 Then opening the gate he sent out those whom he had  
 marshalled in the way that led to the enemy's camp.  
 The Romans, by order of their general halted a  
 little, that they might be nearer to receive supports  
 from their camps in time of action. At first the bat-  
 tle was fought with great courage on both sides. At  
 length the Romans, by receiving continual supports  
 from their camp not only put the enemy to flight,  
 but pursued them so close, that if their trumpets had  
 not sounded a retreat, by all appearance they would  
 have broke into the town pellmell with the fugitives.

CHAP.  
XLIV.



CHAP. XLIV. The consternation was as great in the city as in the field of battle. Many of the guards abandoned their posts and fled through fear, and each leap'd down from the walls at the nearest part they could come at, so that they were left quite defenceless. As soon as Scipio, who had got upon an eminence called Mercury's hill, perceived that most of the guards had deserted the walls, he ordered all his troops in the camp to advance to the attack and the ladders to be brought. He himself approached the wall preceded by three able bodied men who covered him with their shields from the vast showers of darts, that were now discharged from the walls. He exhorted, he commanded the troops as he saw occasion. His presence animated the soldiers exceedingly, considering him as the spectator and judge of the valor or cowardice of each. For this reason they rushed upon death and the enemy's swords, neither the walls nor the men who defended them could hinder them from scaling them. At the same time the fleet begun the attack on the side next the sea. However there was more clamor than fighting on that side. For in warping up to the shore, landing the ladders and soldiers, and by each striving to get ashore at the place nearest him, they hindered and incommoded one another by their hurry and striving.

CHAP. XLV. IN the mean time the Carthaginian had replaced the guards on the walls, and brought them a supply of darts, of which there were great plenty in the town. But his men, darts or any thing else did not defend him so much as the height of the walls. For few of the ladders were long enough to reach the top, and the longer they were the weaker. By this means, though those who were on the highest step of the ladder could not reach the top, yet they climb'd up one after another till they broke the ladders with their weight. Some standing on the top the height made them giddy, and they tumbled to the ground. When men and ladders fell down promiscuously, and this success augmented the courage and spirits of the besieged,



sieged, the Roman general ordered a retreat to be CHAP.  
founded. This inspired the enemy with hopes that XLV.  
they were not only for the present, but for the future relieved from the danger and fatigue, as they imagined the city could not be taken by scalado or a blockade. Besides they flattered themselves that the difficulty of raising works against it would give the Carthaginian generals time to come to their relief. But the first alarm was scarce over when Scipio ordered sound and fresh men to take the ladders from those who were wounded and wearied, and attack the town with greater vigor. Having been informed by fishermen of Tarraco, who used to pass the lake in little boats, and where they stranded to wade through the fords, that it was easy to approach the wall on that side on foot, he no sooner heard that the tide was going back, than he led troops thither. It was then about mid-day. Besides the natural ebb of the waters a violent north wind arose, which considerably helped the tide to empty the lake, and left the fords so shallow, that in some places it struck the soldiers only to the belt, and in some places scarce to the knee. Though by enquiry and reasoning Scipio had learned that this was the effect of a natural cause, yet he had the address to turn it into a miracle, and pretended that the Gods had turned back the sea to leave the Romans a passage, and had opened them a way which man had never trod before. He ordered his men to follow Neptune their conductor, and go through the middle of the lake to the walls.

THOSE who had renewed the attack on the land CHAP.  
side suffered extremely under the walls. For they XLVI.  
were only obstructed by the height of the parapet, but in advancing were exposed to showers of darts from the saliant angles of the courtines that flanked them; so that their flanks were more annoyed than their front. But on the other side the detachment of 500 got easily through the lake and over the wall. For, as it was thought sufficiently defended by the lake, it had no bulwarks on that side, nor were there  
any



CHAP. any guards or sentinels there, as all the besieged were  
 XLVI. busied in giving their assistance on the side where  
 there seemed to be danger. Having got over the  
 parapet without resistance the 500 Romans marched  
 with all possible expedition to that gate where the two  
 parties were engaged. The battle here had so entirely  
 engrossed not only the minds, but the eyes and ears  
 of the spectators, combatants, and those that animated  
 them, that none perceived the city was taken behind,  
 till they were wounded by darts in the rear and saw  
 themselves between two bodies of enemies. Then  
 the besieged were struck with dread, the enemy be-  
 came masters of the walls, and begun to break down  
 the gate from within and without. Having in a  
 moment's time cut the gate to pieces, that nothing  
 might obstruct their entry, they rushed in sword in  
 hand. A great many got over the walls and dispersed  
 to put the enemy to the sword. But those who en-  
 tered at the gate marched in order with their generals  
 on their head, to the forum in the middle of the city.  
 Seeing the enemy escaped by two different ways, some  
 to the eminence toward the east, guarded by a body  
 of 500 men ; others into the citadel, whither Mago  
 had retired almost with all the troops that had been  
 repulsed from the walls, Scipio sent one part of his  
 forces to the eminence, and marched on the head of  
 another to the citadel. The guard on the former was  
 dislodged at the first attack. Mago at first endeavor-  
 ed to defend the latter, but seeing it invested on all  
 sides, without hope of being able to resist, he surren-  
 dered the place with it's garison to the conqueror. Till  
 the citadel was surrounded the slaughter had continued,  
 and every person that was capable of bearing arms  
 put to the sword. But now a stop was put to it by  
 signal ; and the conquerors fell to plundering, and  
 the spoils were very considerable.

CHAP. ABOUT 10000 freemen were made prisoners.  
 XLVII. Then Scipio dismissed all the citizens of New Carthage,  
 and restored them the city, and what other effects had  
 escaped in the plunder. The artificers to the number  
 of



of 2000 he ordered to serve the Romans, promising them their liberty if they served in the war with diligence and fidelity. The rest of the youth and able-bodied slaves he sent on board his fleet to serve as rowers. He augmented his fleet with eight ships which he had taken. Besides this multitude he likewise took the Spanish hostages, of whom he was as careful as if they had been the children of allies. There were likewise vast quantities of warlike stores taken; 120 catapultæ of a very large size and 281 of a smaller, 23 large and 52 small ballistæ, and a great number of large and small scorpions, arms and weapons, with 74 colors. Abundance of gold and silver was brought to the general, 276 cups of gold, almost all of a pound weight, 18300 pound weight of silver in money, and an immense quantity of silver plate. These things were all numbered and delivered into the custody of the quæstor C. Flaminius. Besides 40000 bushels of wheat, and 270000 of barley. In the port were seized 113 transports, many of them loaded with corn, arms, brass, iron, sails, ropes, and other materials necessary for fitting out a fleet. So that amidst this rich spoil, the city of Carthage itself seemed to be the least prize.

THAT day Scipio, having ordered Lælius with his sailors to guard the city, marched his legions back to their camp. Then he ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves as they were wearied with having undergone all manner of fatigue in that day's service, inasmuch as they had fought a pitched battle, suffered so much toil and danger in taking the city, and engaged on disadvantageous ground, with those who had retired into the citadel. Next having assembled the soldiers and sailors, in the first place he gave thanks and praise to the immortal Gods, who had enabled him in one day not only to reduce the most opulent city in Spain, but also had first brought into it all the wealth of Africa and Spain, to deprive the enemy of all their resources, and to give him and his army abundance of all necessaries. Then he praised the

CHAP.  
XLVII.CHAP.  
XLVIII.



CHAP. the valor of the troops, who had not been deterred from  
 XLVIII. surmounting so many obstacles, the fall of the enemy,  
 height of the walls, the passage of a lake never  
 founded before, a fort situated on an high eminence  
 and a strongly fortified citadel. Though he was  
 indebted to them all in general for each of these  
 events, yet in particular the honor of a mural crown  
 belonged to him who first mounted the wall. There-  
 fore he desired, he who thought he had deserved this  
 reward should appear and clame it. Two competi-  
 tors presented themselves, Q. Trebellius a centurion  
 of the fourth legion, and Sex. Digitius a seaman.  
 The contest was less hot between the two clamants,  
 than between the soldiers and sailors, who warmly  
 espoused his cause, who was of their body. Lælius  
 supported the latter and M. Semp. Tuditanus the for-  
 mer. Scipio, seeing the contest was on the point of  
 producing a sedition, appointed three commissioners  
 to take cognizance of the affair, and determine ac-  
 cording to the testimony of credible witnesses, which  
 of the two competitors had mounted the wall first.  
 As two of the commissioners were interested in the  
 cause, he added a third, C. Cornelius Claudius quite  
 unprejudiced, ordering them jointly to hear and deter-  
 mine in the case. But the taking away the two for-  
 mer, who had great authority among the troops, and  
 not only supported the clamors, but moderated the pas-  
 sions of their distinct corps, only encreased the tu-  
 mult. For this reason, Lælius, leaving his colleagues,  
 went to Scipio on his tribunal and informed him, ‘ that  
 ‘ the troops observed no mean, and were on the point  
 ‘ of coming to blows. That though they should  
 ‘ abstain from blows, yet their procedure would set  
 ‘ a most shocking example, for fraud and perjury  
 ‘ would carry off the honorable reward due to valor.  
 ‘ On the one side the legionaries, on the other the sea-  
 ‘ men were resolved to give such testimony as they  
 ‘ thought would favor their pretensions, rather than  
 ‘ speak the truth, and by perjury to bring down  
 ‘ curses not only on their own heads, but on their  
 : military



‘ military ensigns, eagles and oath. This much he  
 ‘ thought meet to inform him of at the desire of Cor-  
 ‘ nelius and Sempronius.’ Scipio, after commend-  
 ing Lælius’s prudence, assembled the troops, and  
 said, ‘ he was very well satisfy’d, that Trebellius  
 ‘ and Digitius had mounted the wall at the same  
 ‘ time, and he granted them both mural crowns as  
 ‘ the reward of their valor.’ Then he rewarded o-  
 thers in proportion to their merit and bravery. In  
 particular he bestowed the highest encomiums on the  
 admiral Lælius, and sharing the honor of the con-  
 quest with him, made him a present of a crown of  
 gold and thirty oxen.

THEN he ordered the Spanish hostages to be  
 brought before him. I am almost ashamed to men-  
 tion the number of them. For I find some authors  
 say it did not amount to 300, and others that it was  
 725. They disagree as much in other particulars.  
 Some say the Carthaginian garison consisted of 10000  
 men, some 7000, and others not above 2000. One  
 may likewise find in some histories that 10000 pri-  
 soners were taken, and in others 25000. Had I fol-  
 lowed the Greek historian Silenus, I would have said  
 that only 60 scorpions, great and small, fell into the  
 Romans hands ; but according to Valerius Antias,  
 6000 large ones, and 13000 small. He likewise  
 adds, that it was Armes who commanded the Punic  
 garison, and surrendered to the Romans, while all  
 other annalists say it was Mago. Neither do they a-  
 gree with regard to the number of vessels, and the  
 quantity of money taken. Since it is necessary to ad-  
 here to some account, we will observe a medium be-  
 tween them. But when the hostages were brought  
 before Scipio, he beg’d them not to be afflicted.  
 ‘ You have fallen, says he, into the hands of a peo-  
 ‘ ple, who desire rather to engage mens affections  
 ‘ by acts of kindness, than by motives of fear ; and  
 ‘ to unite with foreign nations in leagues of amity  
 ‘ and alliance, than reduce them to a state of wretch-  
 ‘ ed slavery.’ Then taking a list of the states to  
 which

CHAP.

XLIX.



CHAP.

XLIX.



which they belonged, he called them over, ordering couriers to be sent to each to desire them to come and receive their hostages. To the deputies of such states as were present, he immediately delivered theirs, and ordered Flaminius to take all possible care of the rest. While he was thus busied about the hostages, an ancient lady, wife of Mandonius, brother of Indibilis, king of the Illergetes, threw herself in tears at the general's feet, conjuring him to recommend to those who had the custody of the ladies, to use them with regard and civility. When Scipio answered they should want for nothing, she replied, 'The conveniences of life we do not regard much, for what is it we ought not to be content with in the condition to which fortune has reduced us? My fears are of another nature, when I consider the age of these virgin princesses, for my own age protects me from all danger.' She had with her the daughters of Indibilis, and several others of the same rank, in the bloom of youth, and exquisitely beautiful, who all revered her as their parent. Then Scipio said, 'In regard of my own credit, and that of the Roman people, I would take care not to suffer any thing thought sacred by others to be violated by us. But your virtue and rank are additional motives to my being more strict in my care of your honor, the preservation of which you've been so solicitous about in the midst of so many other subjects of fear.' So he confided them to the care of a man of experienced integrity, with orders to treat them with as much modesty and respect, as they would do the mothers and wives of friends and allies.

CHAP.

L.



THEN the soldiers brought before him a young lady of such distinguished beauty, that she attracted the eyes of all wherever she went. Scipio, by enquiring concerning her country and parents, among other things learned, that she was betrothed to Allucius, prince of the Celtiberians. He immediately ordered her parents and bridegroom to be sent for. In the mean time he was informed, that the young prince



prince was so excessively enamor'd of his bride, that he could not survive the loss of her. For this reason, as soon as he appeared, and before he spoke to her parents, he took great care to talk with him.

‘ As you and I are both young, said he, we can converse together with greater freedom. When your bride, who had fallen into the hands of my soldiers, was brought to me, I was informed that you loved her passionately ; and in truth her perfect beauty left me no room to doubt of it. If I were at liberty to indulge a youthful passion, I mean in honorable and lawful wedlock, and were not solely engrossed by the affairs of my republic, I might have hoped to have been pardoned my excessive love for so charming a mistress. But as I am situated, and have it in my power, with pleasure I promote your happiness. Your future spouse has met with as civil and modest treatment from me, as if she had been amongst her own parents, who are soon to be yours too. I have kept her pure, in order to have it in my power to make you a present worthy of you and of me. The only return I ask of you for this favor, is, that you would be a friend to the Roman people ; and that if you believe me to be a man of worth, as the states of Spain formerly experienced my father and uncle to be, you may know there are many in Rome who resemble us ; and that there are not a people in the universe, whom you less desire to be an enemy, or more a friend to you and yours.’

The youth, covered with blushes and full of joy, embraced Scipio's hands, praying the immortal Gods to reward him, as he himself was not capable to do it in the degree he himself desired, or he deserved. Then the parents and relations of the virgin were called. They had brought a great sum of money to ransom her. But seeing her restored to them without it, they begun to beg Scipio to accept that sum as a present, protesting they would acknowledge it as a favor, as much as they did his restoring the virgin



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L.

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without injury offered to her. Scipio, unable to resist their importunate solicitations, told them, he accepted it, and ordering it to be laid at his feet, thus addressed Allucius: 'To the portion you are to receive from your father in law, I add this, and beg you would accept it as a nuptial present.' So he desired him to take up the gold and keep it for himself. Transported with joy at the presents and honors conferred on him, he returned home, and expatiated to his countrymen on the merits of Scipio. 'There is come amongst us, said he, a young hero like the Gods, who conquers all things, as well by generosity and beneficence, as by arms.' For this reason, having raised troops among his own subjects, he returned a few days after to Scipio, with a body of 1400 horse.

CHAP.

LI.

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SCIPIO detained Lælius, to use his advice in disposing of the prisoners, hostages and plunder. When every thing was sufficiently settled, he gave him a quinquereme, and embarking in it Mago and about 15 captive prisoners, sent him to Rome with the news of his victory. He spent the few days he staid himself at Carthage, in exercising his land and naval forces. The first day the legions filed off before him under arms to the distance of 4000 paces. The second he ordered them to clean and furbish their arms before their tents. The third armed with wooden swords and lancing darts without iron heads and blunted at the end presented the image of a battle. The fourth day they rested. The fifth they filed off again under arms. As long as they staid at Carthage, they observed this order of exercise and rest alternately. The seamen and marines, standing out to sea when it was calm, try'd the swiftness of their ships in the representation of a sea fight. These exercises both by sea and land inured both their bodies and minds to war at the same time. In the mean time the city resounded with the noise made by artificers of every kind employ'd in the public shops in making all things necessary for war. The general himself



himself went round and inspected every thing with particular attention. Sometimes he was present at the exercises of the fleet; sometimes of the land army. He passed a considerable part of his time in examining the works, at which a great number of artificers worked in emulation of one another in the shops, arsenals and magazines. After this successful beginning, when he had sufficiently repaired the breaches of the walls, and appointed a garison for the city, he set out for Tarraco. Deputies from several states met him on his march. To some he gave an answer on the way, and dismissed them: Others he detained till he came to the city, where he had appointed an assembly of all his new and old allies. Thither came deputies from all the states on this side the Ebro, and also from many provinces of Further Spain. At first the Carthaginian generals industriously suppressed the report of New Carthage being taken. But soon perceiving it had spread too far to be concealed or denied, they endeavored to detract from the loss by saying, 'it was but a single city of Spain taken by surprize, and a stolen march. However the young Roman general was so elated with this inconsiderable advantage, that through his immoderate joy he gave it the air of an important victory. But he would no sooner be apprized of the approach of three Carthaginian generals and three victorious armies, than the fate of his father and uncle, recurring to his memory, would humble his insolent heart.' Thus they talked to the people of the country, and to their own soldiers, when at the same time they knew how much their strength was impaired in every respect by the loss of Carthage.



## BOOK XXVII.

*The pro-consul Cn. Fulvius killed, and his army defeated, by Hannibal at Ardonea. Claudius Marcellus the consul fights with better success against him near Numistro. Hannibal retires in the night. Marcellus pursues him, and forces him to come to a battle. He is victor in the first, and worsted in the second by Marcellus. Fabius Maximus the father recovers Tarentum by stratagem. In Spain Scipio engages Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar, and comes off victorious. Amongst others, a youth of incomparable beauty is taken, whom Scipio sends back to his uncle Masinissa with presents. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quinctius Crispinus the consuls quitting the camp to view a piece of ground are entrapped by a stratagem of Hannibal. Marcellus killed upon the spot, Crispinus escapes. This book also contains the success of P. Sulpicius the prætor against Philip and the Achæans. A census held, and the number of citizens amounts to 137108, by which it appears how much their number had been diminished by their many defeats. Asdrubal passes the Alps with a new levied army to join Hannibal, is killed with 56000 men by the conduct of M. Livius the consul, but in particular by that of Nero the other consul, who being appointed to make head against Hannibal, quits his camp unknown to the enemy, marches with a body of men draughted out of the army, and surprizes Asdrubal.*

## CHAP.

I.

M. Claud.  
Marcellus,  
M. Val. Le-  
vinus, con-  
suls.

**S**UCH was the situation of affairs in Spain. In Italy, the consul Marcellus having made himself master of Salapia, by intelligence in the place, took Maronea<sup>a</sup> and Meles by storm. He killed in them about three thousand men, whom Hannibal had left to garison them, and distributed among his troops the whole plunder, which was very considerable. He also found in them two hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat, one hundred and ten thousand of barley. These advantages however were not matter of so much joy, as to over-balance the grief occasioned by the loss the commonwealth sustained some days afterwards near Ardonia. Fulvius the pro-consul, in hopes of retaking that city which had revolted from the Romans after the battle of Cannæ, had encamped on a disadvantageous ground, and did not guard his lines sufficiently. This gene-

<sup>a</sup> Unknown, unless our author meant, Teate, or Marruvium.



ral, who was naturally negligent, had soothed himself with the hopes that those within the city were ready to fall off from the Carthaginians, especially after they heard that Hannibal, upon the loss of Salapia, had quitted these places, and retired into Bruttium. Hannibal, receiving secret Intelligence from Ardonia of all that had passed, was very desirous to keep that city in subjection, and to surprize the enemy unawares. Accordingly he advanced by long marches, and with as much expedition as possible, to that city, so as even to get there before the report of his coming. To strike the enemy with greater dread, he approached it in order of battle. Fulvius, equally presumptuous, but much inferior to Hannibal in conduct and strength, marched out hastily and engaged him. The fifth legion and left wing began the battle resolutely. But Hannibal, while the eyes and attention of the infantry were engaged in the present action, made a signal to his cavalry to fetch a compass, and part fall upon the enemy's camp, and part attack them in the rear. He frequently repeated to his men the name of Fulvius, as he had defeated a prætor of the same name in that very spot two years before. He assured them the present Fulvius would meet with the same fate, which accordingly happened. Though a great slaughter was made of the Roman infantry, they kept their ranks, and their ensigns, till the alarm of the cavalry, who had attacked them in the rear, and hearing the shouts of the enemy in their camp, put to flight the sixth legion, which was posted in the second line, and had before been put into disorder by the Numidians; and then the fifth legion, and those in the front. Some fled with precipitation, and others were cut to pieces by the troops, which attacked them before and behind. Cn. Fulvius himself fell in the action with eleven legionary tribunes. I cannot give a certain account how many of the Romans and their allies perished in that battle. According to some seven thousand, and according to others thirteen thousand.



The victor remained master of all the spoils both of the field and camp. Hannibal, finding that Ardonia was upon the point of going over to the Romans, and would not continue in subjection upon his quitting the place, ordered all the inhabitants to Metapontus and Thurii, set the city on fire, and put the chief men in it to death, because they had held secret conferences with Fulvius. The remains of the Roman army after this disaster fled half armed by by-ways to Marcellus, who was then in Samnium.

## CHAP.

II.

MARCELLUS, without being much discouraged at this loss, wrote to the senate to inform them of the pro-consul's misfortune, and the defeat of his army near Ardonia. He told them, ' he was the same man that he was after the battle of Cannæ. He who had then checked the insolent pride of that conqueror, was now going to give him battle. That the joy which now swelled his mind should not be of long duration.' The city was much affected with their former loss, and also apprehensive of future misfortunes. The consul, leaving Samnium, marched into Lucania, and encamped at Numistro<sup>a</sup>, in view of Hannibal, in a spacious plain, although the Carthaginian had occupied the hill. To make the greater bravado, he marched out first in order of battle. Hannibal, observing the ensigns moving from the gates, presently accepted the challenge. The disposition of their armies was such, that the right wing of the Carthaginians was posted on the hill, and the left wing of the Romans extended as far as the town. The battle lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till evening, and the vanguards on both sides were fatigued with fighting. The Roman first legion and right wing, and Hannibal's Spanish soldiers, with the Balearian slingers and elephants, were brought on to the charge first. The battle was long equal on both sides. But then the first legion was relieved by the third, and the right

<sup>a</sup> Geographers differ so much about it's situation, that it can't be ascertained.



wing by the left : the enemy also brought on fresh soldiers. By this means the battle, which was fought but faintly before on both sides, was renewed with the greatest ardor by these supports, whose bodies and courage were both fresh. But night parted the armies, before the victory was determined. The next day the Romans stood under arms from sunrise till near noon ; when seeing the enemy did not advance, they gathered up the plunder, and having piled up their dead in one place, set fire to them. Hannibal marched off in the dead of the night, and retreated to Apulia. Marcellus, discovering at day-break the flight of the enemy, left his wounded men at Numistro, under a small guard commanded by Furius Purpureo, a legionary tribune, and pursued the enemy with the main body of his army. He overtook them at Venusia. They passed several days rather in slight skirmishes than real engagements, sometimes between the foot, and sometimes between the horse : and the Romans generally had the advantage in them. Then both armies took their rout through Apulia without any memorable action ; for Hannibal usually decamped in the night, and watched opportunities for ensnaring the enemy : and Marcellus was cautious and followed him only by day, and after having carefully examined the ground.

CHAP.

II.

IN the mean time Flaccus protracted the time in Capua, in selling the estates of the noblemen, and farming out the lands that had been confiscated, for a certain quantity of corn payable annually. That there might never be wanting just ground for severely punishing the Capuans, a new conspiracy was discovered there. He had made his soldiers quit the houses in the town, that he might let them out with the lands ; at the same time he was apprehensive lest the too delicate pleasures of the place should enervate them, as they had done those of Hannibal. He therefore obliged them to erect barracks about the gates and round the walls. Most of these barracks

CHAP.

III.



CHAP.

III.



were built with hurdles, planks or reeds, and thatched with straw, as if on purpose to be fuel for fire. One hundred and seventy Capuans, at the instigation of two brothers of the family of the Blossii, one of the most considerable in the city, conspired to burn the whole at one fixed hour in the night. This plot being discovered by the slaves of the Blossii, the pro-consul immediately caused the gates of the city to be shut, put the soldiers under arms, seized all the accomplices in the plot, and after having examined them with rigour, condemned and executed them immediately. The informers were rewarded with their liberty, and had each ten thousand sester-cii<sup>a</sup> given them. When the Nucerrans and the Acerrans complained that they had no place of residence, as Acerræ was almost burnt down, and Nuceria sacked, Fulvius sent them to the senate. The Acerrans were allowed to rebuild the houses that had been burnt down, but the Nucerrans, according to their own desire, were transplanted to Atella, and the Atellanes commanded to remove to Calatia. In the midst of the various successful and unfortunate events, which attracted the attention of the Romans, the citadel of Tarentum was not forgot. M. Ogulnius and P. Aquilius were sent to Hetruria to buy up corn, and cause it to be carried to Tarentum. A thousand soldiers, half Romans and half allies, draughted out of the army that guarded the city of Rome, were sent to escorte the supplies thither.

CHAP.

IV.



THE campaign was now almost over, and the time for election of magistrates approached. But Marcellus having wrote to the senate, that, as he was pursuing Hannibal, who fled before him and declined fighting, it was of the last importance to the public, not to lose sight of him, the senators were strangely embarrassed. They judged it improper to recal the consul in the midst of his glorious career, and yet were afraid that the commonwealth should be without consuls for the ensuing year. It was thought most

<sup>a</sup> About 251.



adviseable to call Valerius out of Sicily, though he had the sea to pass. Accordingly the prætor L. Manlius wrote to him by order of the senate, and sent inclosed Marcellus's letter, that by it he might know the reason the fathers had for recalling him rather than his colleague. About this time also embassadors arrived at Rome from king Syphax, informing them of the advantages he had gained over the Carthaginians. They declared ' that Carthage had not a greater enemy than the king their master, nor the Romans a better friend. He had formerly sent embassadors into Spain to the two Scipios, who commanded there, and now had applied to the fountain-head, to obtain the amity of the Romans.' The senate were not content with making the deputies a very obliging answer; but appointed L. Genucius, P. Petælius and P. Popilius embassadors to the king, with a present of a Roman gown, a purple tunic, a curule chair, and a gold cup of five pound weight. They had orders likewise to visit the other petty kings of Africa, and to present them in the name of the senate with robes edged with purple, and with gold cups weighing three pounds. M. Atilius and Manius Acilius were also sent to Alexandria to Ptolemy Philopater and Cleopatra, to renew the treaty of amity and alliance, which subsisted between the commonwealth and the king of Egypt; and to present the king with a robe and tunic of purple and a curule chair, and the queen with an embroidered cloak and a purple veil. During this summer in which those things were acted, many frightful stories were reported from the adjacent towns and villages. At Tusculum a lamb with a dug full of milk was brought forth: The roof of Jupiter's temple was struck with lightening, and almost carried off. About the same time, the ground before the gates of Anagnia being set on fire by lightening burnt a day and a night without any fuel put to it: The birds had left their nests they had built in Diana's grove nigh the cross ways of Anagnia: At Terracina serpents of an



CHAP. IV. immense bigness had been seen playing and jumping after the manner of fishes. At Tarquinii a sow farrowed a pig with a man's face. Also in the territory of Capena about the grove of Feronia, there were four statues that sweated blood for a day and a night. The college of pontiffs ordered the expiation of these prodigies by the greater sacrifices, and that solemn supplications for one day should be offered up in all the temples at Rome; and for another in the grove of Feronia, at Capena.

CHAP. V. M. VALERIUS, upon receipt of the prætor's letter, set out from Sicily with ten galleys to repair to Rome, after having appointed Cincius the prætor to command the province and army, and sent M. Valerius Messala, admiral of the fleet, with the rest of it into Africa, as well to ravage the country, as to discover the motions and designs of the Carthaginians. As soon as he arrived at Rome, he had an audience of the senate, and gave an account of what he had done in Sicily. He told them, ' that after a war of  
' sixty years continuance, during which they frequent-  
' ly sustained very considerable losses both by sea and  
' land, he had at length entirely subjected that island:  
' There was not a single Carthaginian in the island;  
' all the Sicilians whom fear had banished from their  
' country, were returned to their cities and lands,  
' where they employed themselves in agriculture and  
' husbandry: The island, which had been so long  
' ruined by the war, was now repeopled, and in a con-  
' dition, by the re-establishment of tillage, abundant-  
' ly to supply the Roman people with provisions  
' both in peace and war.' He afterwards introduced Mutines to the senate, and others who like him had deserved well of the commonwealth. They were all honorably treated, to acquit the consul of his promise. Mutines had the freedom of Rome confer'd on him in vertue of a law which one of the tribunes of the people proposed, with the authority of a decree of the senate. Whilst these things passed at Rome, M. Valerius Messala, having arrived before day in  
Africa



Africa with fifty ships, made a descent in the country of Utica, where the inhabitants expected no such visit; and after having ravaged it far and wide, returned to his ships, with a great number of prisoners and a rich booty, and sailed immediately for Sicily, where he landed in the port of Lilybæum. He was only thirteen days on this expedition. He then interrogated the prisoners and transmitted the information he received to the consul Lævinus; ‘ That there were five thousand Numidians at Carthage, under the command of Masinissa, the son of Gala, an enterprizing prince, and that other mercenary troops were raising throughout all Africa to be sent to Asdrubal in Spain: The latter had orders to march, as soon as possible, into Italy, with all the troops he could draw together in order to join his brother Hannibal: The Carthaginians placed their whole hopes in the execution of this design: They were also fitting out a great fleet to return to Sicily, and they expected it to sail immediately.’ When the consul had read Messala’s letter, the senators were so much alarmed, that they declared the consul should not stay till the time of the elections, but should nominate a dictator to preside at them, and return directly to his province. One thing embarrassed them: The consul declared he would appoint M. Valerius Messala dictator, who then commanded the fleet in Sicily. The senators remonstrated, that no dictator could be nominated without the Roman territories, which were confined within the bounds of Italy. M. Lucretius a plebeian tribune, having proposed this difficulty to the senate, they passed a decree, ‘ That the consul before he quitted the city should move the people to determine who should be nominated dictator, and whoever they pitched on he should nominate him: If the consul should refuse, then the prætor of the city should move the people, and if he would not then the tribunes of the people were to take the matter in hand.’ When the consul absolutely refused, and forbid the prætor to refer to the people  
a pre-



CHAP.

V.

a prerogative he was invested with by virtue of his office ; the tribunes made a motion and the people ordained, that Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who then commanded in Capua should be nominated dictator. The consul the night before this assembly of the people set out secretly for Sicily. The senate, disconcerted by his retreat, wrote to the consul Marcellus, and desired him to assist the commonwealth, abandoned by his college, and to nominate the dictator, whom the people had voted for that office. Marcellus complied, and Q. Fulvius appointed P. Licinius Crassus the pontifex maximus general of the horse.

Q. Fulvius  
dictator,  
P. Licinius  
general of  
horse.

CHAP.

VI.

AS soon as the dictator came to Rome, he sent his lieutenant Cn. Sempronius Blæsus, whom he left at Capua, to command the army in Hetruria, in place of C. Calpurnius the prætor, to whom he wrote to take the government of Capua and command of the army there. He fixed the elections to be held as soon as possible, but could not finish them by reason of a dispute which arose between him and the tribunes. The youth of the century called Galeria, who by lot were to give their suffrages first, nominated Q. Fulvius then actually dictator, and Q. Fabius consuls, and the rest of the centuries seemed determined to confirm this choice. But two of the tribunes, C. and L. Arennius, opposed it, affirming it was irregular, that the same person should be invested with two different offices at the same time ; besides it was a worse precedent, to raise the same person to the consulship, who presided at the elections for that office. Therefore they insisted, that if the dictator suffered himself to be nominated, they would stop the elections ; but if any other should be proposed, he might procede and finish them. The dictator justified the proceedings of the assembly by the authority of the senate, acts of the people, and divers precedents : for in the consulate of Cn. Servilius, after the death of his colleague Flaminius, who perished at Thrasymen, a bill was presented to the people, by authority of the senate, which they agreed to, that as long as the war continued



continued in Italy, the people might elect as consuls CHAP. those that had formerly bore that office, and that as VI. often as they saw it expedient. There were many precedents both ancient and modern. In former days L. Posthumius Megellus, when interrex, was created consul with C. Junius Bubulcus by the comitia at which he presided : and to mention one of later date, Q. Fabius would never have suffered himself to be continued in that office, had it not been for the public good. After much time wasted in these disputes, the dictator and tribunes agreed to refer the affair to the senate, and abide by their determination. As it seemed a matter of great importance at that juncture, that the most able and experienced generals should be placed at the head of the armies, the senate was of opinion that it was necessary not to oppose the freedom of the suffrages. The tribunes acquiesced, and the comitia were held. Q. Fabius Maximus was declared consul for the fifth time, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. L. Veturius Philo, T. Quintus Crispinus, C. Hostilius Tubulus, and C. Arunculeius, were afterwards created prætors. When all the magistrates for the year were chosen, Q. Fulvius resigned his dictatorship. Towards the end of this campaign, a Carthaginian fleet, of forty sail, under command of Hamilcar, arrived at Sardinia and made a descent in the country of the Olbi ; but the prætor P. Manlius Vulso, marching against the enemy, they reembarked, and steering round the island, made another descent in the territory of Caralis on the opposite side, and returned to Africa with a considerable booty of all kinds. There were some of the Roman pontiffs that died this year, and others chosen in their room. C. Servilius was created pontifex in place of T. Otacilius Crassus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the son of Tiberius, decemvir for keeping the sacred books, in the room of one of the same name, but the son of Caius. M. Marcius, king of the sacrifices, and M. Æmilius Papus, the curio maximus died also, but none were chosen this



CHAP. VI. year to succede them. The cenfors were L. Veturius Philo, and P. Licinius Craſſus, the pontifex maximus, which latter had neither been conſul or prætor, but ſtept directly from his ædileſhip to that of cenſor. But theſe cenſors did not chuſe any new ſenators, or enter upon any publick action, occaſioned by the death of L. Veturius. So Licinius demitted his cenſorſhip. The curule ædiles, L. Veturius and P. Licinius Varus, exhibited the Roman games, and renewed them for one day. The ædiles of the commons, Q. Catius and L. Porcius Licinus erected brazen ſtatues in the temple of Ceres, which were made of the money taken for fines, and repreſented the ſhows belonging to the office, with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence that the riches of thoſe times could afford.

CHAP. VII. TOWARDS the end of this campaign, C. Lælius arrived at Rome, thirty four days after he ſet out from Tarraco. He entered the city with his priſoners, ſurrounded with a vaſt concourſe of people. The next day, having had audience of the ſenate, he related what Scipio had done in Spain: That he had taken Carthage in one day, the capital of the whole province, reduced many cities which had revolted, and had brought over others to the commonwealth. The accounts given by the priſoners confirmed what M. Valerius Meſſala had wrote. But what alarmed the ſenate moſt was the intended march of Aſdrubal into Italy, at a time when they were ſcarce able to make head againſt Hannibal's forces only. Lælius was afterwards preſented to the people, to whom he gave the ſame account. Thankſgivings were decreed for one day, for the good ſucceſs of P. Scipio, and Lælius was ſent back directly to Spain, with the ſhips that came with him. I have included the taking of Carthage in this year, being ſupported by many authentic hiſtorians; though I know ſome affirm, it was taken the year following. But it appears very improbable to me, that Scipio would have ſpent a whole year in Spain doing nothing.



thing. The two consuls entered upon office according to custom upon the ides of March, that is the fifteenth day of that month. Both had Italy for their province; Fabius Tarentum, and Flaccus Lucania and Bruttium; Marcellus was continued in his command for one year. The prætors had their provinces assigned them by lot. The city fell to C. Hostilius Tubulus, and the jurisdiction of foreigners, together with the care of Gaul, to L. Veturius Philo; Crispinus had Capua, and C. Arunculeius Sardinia. The forces were divided among the provinces as follows: to Fulvius were assigned the two legions, which M. Valerius had the command of in Sicily; to Q. Fabius those in Hetruria, lately commanded by C. Calpurnius. The army of the city was appointed to succeed those legions in Hetruria, and C. Calpurnius was ordered to have the government of the province and the leading of the army which Q. Fulvius had. It was likewise agreed, that T. Quinctius should have Capua and the army there, and that C. Lætorius the pro-prætor should deliver the government of his province, with command of the army which was then at Ariminum, to C. Hostilius. The legions, which had acted so bravely in the late battle under Marcellus, were continued under his command. The army that remained after the battle of Cannæ was given to M. Valerius, and L. Cincius, whose commissions to act in Sicily were renewed for a year; and they were ordered to augment it with the soldiers who survived Cn. Fulvius's defeat. The consuls having gathered them together, ordered them to march to Sicily, and stamp upon them the same mark of disgrace with the army of Cannæ; for the senate highly resenting their flight in the battle in which Cn. Fulvius perished, had upon that account sent them thither. It was decreed that C. Arunculeius should have the army in Sardinia, which had been under P. Manlius Vulso. P. Sulpicius was continued for a year in Macedonia with the same legion and fleet, that he might observe the motions of the Macedonians.

Q. Fabius  
Maximus  
Q. Fulvius  
Flaccus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 543.  
B. J. C. 209.



Thirty quinqueremes were ordered out of Sicily to Tarentum, to Q. Fabius the consul ; the rest of the fleet to sail to Africa, in order to plunder the country, under the command of either L. Cincius, or M. Valerius Messala, as the latter pleased. No change was made in the commands or armies in Spain, only Scipio and Silanus were continued in commission, without any limited time, till they should be recalled by the senate. Thus were the provinces and armies bestowed this year.

## CHAP.

## VIII.



AMIDST affairs of higher consequence, the assembly for electing a curio maximus<sup>a</sup> in place of M. Æmilius revived an old quarrel ; the patricians strenuously maintaining, that C. Mamilius Vitulus, a plebeian candidate, should be entirely overlooked, because none had ever been advanced to that office but patricians. The tribunes being appeal'd to referred the matter to the senate, who decided in favor of the people. Thus C. Mamilius Vitulus was created curio maximus, the first commoner raised to that office. At the same time, P. Licinius, the pontifex maximus, obliged C. Valerius Flaccus, against his will, to be consecrated priest of Jupiter ; C. Lætorius was created decemvir, who had the inspection of sacrifices, and other rites and ceremonies of religion, in place of Q. Mucius Scævola now deceased. I should willingly have passed over in silence the reason why this man was raised to the sacerdotal dignity against his will, had it not turned out to his own advantage. This Valerius had much disgraced himself in his youth, by his indolence and irregular life, for which conduct he was severely reprimanded by P. Licinius the pontifex maximus ; those failings had made him likewise odious to his brother, and all his relations. But in effect of his application to the religious ceremonies, and care of the sacrifices, he soon renounced his former habits so effectually, that there was not one of the Roman youth more generally esteemed by the principal senators, nor more respect-

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. i.



ed by his own family, and the whole city. This young man having attained such a reputation, believed himself in a condition to resume a privilege formerly annexed to his office, and which those who exercised it had forfeited for many years by their want of merit; this privilege consisted in having a right to sit in the senate. Accordingly he went thither, and claimed it. The prætor P. Licinius having ordered him to depart, he demanded the aid and support of the tribunes. He asserted, that it was a right anciently belonging to the priests of Jupiter, together with the robe bordered with purple, and a curule chair. The prætor objected, that such a privilege ought to be founded, not upon obsolete examples of unknown antiquity, but upon constant practice and recent custom; and he affirmed that no priest of Jupiter had enjoyed that right in the days of their fathers or grandfathers for time immemorial. The tribunes replied, that the bad conduct of the more modern priests might affect their persons but not their office. Upon which the prætor persisted no longer in his opposition. Flaccus was admitted into the senate, with the unanimous consent of the senators and people, and every body was of opinion, that he had deserved that distinction more by the purity of his morals than the right of his office. Before the consuls set out for their provinces, they raised two legions, consisting of citizens, in order to augment the rest of the army, as they should see occasion for it. Fulvius the consul gave the command of the army belonging to the city to C. Fulvius Flaccus his brother, with orders to march to Etruria, and to return the legions which were in Etruria to Rome. The consul Fabius also ordered the scattered remains of Fulvius's army to be gathered, which amounted to 3336, and sent them under the command of Q. Maximus to Sicily, to M. Valerius the pro-consul, and in lieu of them to receive two legions and thirty quinqueremes. The legions that were draughted out of the island did not any wise abridge their garisons, either in strength



**CHAP.** strength or appearance: for besides the augmentation  
**VIII.** of the two veteran legions, they had a considerable  
 number of Numidian horse and foot, which had  
 deserted, and come over to the Romans; besides  
 they likewise listed a great number of Sicilians, who  
 had served under Epicydes and the Carthaginians,  
 and were men of undoubted courage and experience  
 in war. By adding these foreign aids to the Ro-  
 man legions, he preserved at least the shew of  
 two armies. With the one he ordered L. Cincius to  
 guard that part of the island, which had been for-  
 merly the kingdom of Hiero; and with the other  
 he was to defend the rest of the island himself, di-  
 vided formerly by the confines of the Roman and  
 Carthaginian dominions. There was likewise a fleet  
 of seventy ships equipped to guard all the coasts.  
 As for himself, he rode about the whole province  
 with Mutines, in order to reconnoitre the country,  
 and observe whose lands were cultivated, and whose  
 were not, that he might either commend or reprimand  
 the proprietors, according as they deserved;  
 so that by his industry and care there was such plen-  
 ty of corn, that they had abundance to send to  
 Rome, and as much to Catana as was sufficient to  
 maintain the army that during this campaign was to  
 act about Tarentum.

**CHAP.** **WHEN** the army, which consisted mostly of  
**IX.** Latines, and other allies, was to be transported into  
 Italy, a great mutiny had like to have broke out; so  
 usual is it for small sparks to kindle a great conflagra-  
 tion. The Latines and allies had often murmured  
 in their public diets, ‘ that by the levies, and the  
 ‘ pay of their troops, for ten years past, they were  
 ‘ entirely exhausted. Every campaign had been di-  
 ‘ stinguished by some signal defeat; battles and sick-  
 ‘ nefs had almost swept away all their men: they  
 ‘ considered those much more as lost, who had been  
 ‘ listed by the Romans, than those who had been  
 ‘ taken by the enemy; for Hannibal sent home those  
 ‘ he took without ransom, whereas the Romans sent  
 ‘ them



' them far from Italy, into countries where they liv-  
 ' ed much more like exiles than soldiers. The troops  
 ' that survived the battle of Cannæ, had been left to  
 ' grow white in Sicily during eight years, and could  
 ' not leave it till the Carthaginians, who were now  
 ' stronger and more formidable than ever, were dri-  
 ' ven out of Italy. If the old soldiers were not  
 ' sent home, and they were continually obliged to  
 ' furnish new, they should soon not have a man left.  
 ' Therefore, before they were entirely exhausted of  
 ' men and money, they were resolved to refuse the  
 ' Romans aid. If the Romans saw all their allies in  
 ' the same disposition, they would undoubtedly think  
 ' of making peace with the Carthaginians. Other-  
 ' wise Italy would never enjoy peace, as long as  
 ' Hannibal lived.' Such was the language of the al-  
 lies in their diets. The Romans had then thirty co-  
 lonies, whose deputies were then at Rome. Twelve  
 of these thirty had plainly refused to furnish the con-  
 suls either with men or money. These colonies were  
 Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Circeii, Alba, Carseoli,  
 Sueffa, Sera, Setia, Cales, Narnia and Interamna.  
 The consuls, struck with a declaration as fatal as it  
 was new, believed that to make them alter so per-  
 nicious a resolution, it was more necessary to use re-  
 primands than mild words. They therefore replied,  
 ' they had presumed to say that to the consuls, which  
 ' the consuls themselves could not think of repeating  
 ' to the senate. Such discourse ought not to be con-  
 ' sidered as a mere refusal of their contingent for the  
 ' war, but as an actual revolt against the Roman  
 ' people. Therefore they should return as soon as  
 ' possible to their colonies, and deliberate again  
 ' with their constituents, that before matters came to  
 ' extremities, so daring and criminal a declaration  
 ' might be thought rather to have escaped their lips  
 ' unadvisedly, than to have come from their hearts.  
 ' They should take care to represent to them, that  
 ' they were not Campanians, or Tarentines, but Ro-  
 ' mans; that their fathers were born in Rome, and  
 ' had



CHAP.

IX.

had been sent from thence to people and cultivate the lands taken from the enemy, and to augment and extend the Roman name: the same duty children owed to their parents, they owed to Rome, and that they could entertain no other thoughts without stifling all sense of duty, all remembrance of their original country, in their hearts. They bade them ponder the affair, and remember that their present rash resolution tended to no less than the destruction of the Roman state, and to put victory and Rome into the hands of Hannibal.' Though the consuls alternately used these and many other arguments, the deputies were insensible to all their remonstrances. They replied, 'that they had no representation to make to those that sent them; and that it was not necessary for their people to deliberate upon an affair already entirely determined, as they had neither money nor men, from which to raise their contingents.' The consuls finding them inflexible, made their report to the senate. This threw every body into such a consternation, that most of the senators cried out, 'The commonwealth was ruined; for the other colonies and allies would imitate so pernicious an example; all had undoubtedly conspired to give up Rome to Hannibal.'

CHAP.

X.

THE consuls exhorted the senate to take courage, and consoled them with the hope 'of finding more fidelity and submission from the other colonies; and even of the return of those who had departed from their duty; for if deputies from the senate were sent round to their cities, and not use entreaties but reprimands, they would then resume sentiments of fear and respect for the Roman people.' The senate left the management of the affair to them, and empowered them to do all they should think for the good of the commonwealth. Accordingly, after they had sounded the dispositions of the other colonies, they asked their deputies whether they had their stipulated contingents of soldiers ready? M. Sexilius,



lius, deputy from Fregellæ, answered in the name of CH P.  
the other eighteen, ' that the soldiers they were to X.

‘ furnish were ready ; and they would even enlarge  
‘ their quotas if necessary ; and do every thing else  
‘ that the Roman people should direct, with zeal  
‘ and affection : they did not want the means, and  
‘ much less the inclination.’ The consuls, after hav-  
ing observed that their zeal and fidelity merited o-  
ther than their single approbation, even the thanks  
of all the fathers, desired them to follow them to the  
senate. The senate, not contented with having an-  
swered them by a decree conceived in the most ho-  
norable terms, ordered the consuls to present them  
to the assembly of the people, and there give a detail  
of the eminent services they, their ancestors, and the  
commonwealth had received from them on different  
occasions, and especially on this last. It would be  
depriving them of their merited praise and glory,  
even at this time to pass over such a noble acti-  
on in silence. These colonies were the Signians,  
Norbanes, Saticulans, Brundisians, Fregellans, Lu-  
cerians, Venusians, Adrians, Firmans and Armini-  
ans ; and on the coast of the other sea, the Pontians,  
Pæstans, and Cofans ; and of the inland cities, the  
Beneventines, Æsernians, Spoletans, Placentines, and  
Cremonians. The zeal of these colonies, upon this  
occasion, may be said to have preserved the Roman  
empire, upon which account they received the thanks  
both of the senate and people. As to the other twelve  
colonies, who refused to obey, the senate directed  
the consuls to treat them with absolute neglect, with-  
out either dismissing their deputies, keeping them at  
Rome, or speaking to them in any manner. This  
silent contempt seemed more suitable to the dignity  
of the Roman people, than any other kind of resent-  
ment whatsoever. Amongst the other necessary means  
used by the consuls to carry on the war, they took  
the gold out of the sacred hoard in the exchequer,  
which was carefully kept there, as a reserve against  
the pressing occasions of the commonwealth. It a-



mounted to four thousand pounds weight. The two consuls, the pro-consuls M. Marcellus and P. Sulpicius, and the prætor L. Veturius, who had Gaul for his province, had fifty pounds each. The consul Fabius had an hundred weight more, which was to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum; the rest was employed in purchasing clothes with ready money, for the army in Spain, where the general and soldiers had acquired so much glory.

CHAP.

XI.

THE prodigies also were expiated before the consuls took the field; for in the Alban mount the statue of Jupiter, a tree near his temple, the lake Hostia, the wall of Capua, the temple of Fortune, and the wall and gate of Sinuessæ were struck with lightening. Some also report, that a fountain at Alba ran blood, and at Rome within the chapel of the temple of Fors Fortuna, a little image, that stood on her coronet, fell down of it's own accord from the head of the Goddess into her hands: it was well known that at Privernum an ox spoke, and a vulture flew into a shop in the market-place, when there was a vast concourse of people met there, and at Sinuessæ was born a child of doubtful sex, commonly called an androgynos, that is man-woman, as for the most part Greek words admit an easier composition than Latin: it rained milk, and a child was born with an elephant's head. Whereupon they ordered these prodigies to be expiated by the greater sacrifices, and processions to be made to all the shrines, also public supplications for a day. It was further decreed that C. Hostilius should exhibit the games in honor of Apollo, as of late they had been vowed and performed. Fulvius after this held the assemblies for the election of censors. M. Cornelius Cethegus and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, who had never been consuls, had this office conferred on them. The people, with the authority of the senate, authorized the censors to farm out the lands of Capua for the use of the commonwealth. The review of the senate was impeded by a dispute between the two censors, in nominating a person



a person who was to be president of the senate. It fell to Sempronius's lot to nominate him; but his colleague opposed him, pretending that the ancient custom ought to be observed, which had always conferred that honor upon the oldest censor living, who then was T. Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius replied, that the Gods, who had given him that choice by lot, left it entirely at his discretion: that in consequence he should nominate Fabius, who even in the judgment of Hannibal himself was indisputably the principal and most illustrious citizen of Rome. Cornelius, after having contended for some time, complied at last, and Sempronius declared Q. Fabius then consul prince of the senate. The list of senators was then read. Eight were left out; of this number was L. Cæcilius Metellus, who after the battle of Cannæ had given the officers the infamous advice to abandon Italy. The knights who had been in the same plot were treated in the same manner, but they were very few. All of them who were in the battle of Cannæ, and who then had served in Sicily, had their horses taken from them; the number of which was very great. To this severity another was added, declaring that the years they had served should not be allowed them, but they should be obliged to serve ten campaigns longer mounted at their own expence, which was the usual time the knights served. Enquiry was also made after those who being seventeen years old at the beginning of the war, ought to have entered the service, and had not done so; these were all reduced to the *ærarîi*. The censors then agreed with workmen, for rebuilding the edifices which had been consumed by fire, seven shops, shambles, and a royal palace.

CHAP.  
XI.

THE consuls having made an end of all the affairs that kept them at Rome, set out for the war. Fulvius went first to Capua, Fabius followed him some days after, having desired his colleague by word of mouth, and Marcellus by letter, to act vigorously against Hannibal, in order to keep all his forces employed, whilst he should attack Tarentum: For if

CHAP.  
XII.



CHAP.  
xii.

the Carthaginian should be driven out of that city, he would have no place to retire to, no city in his alliance to have recourse to, and so would infallibly be reduced to leave Italy. At the same time he sent a courier to the governor, who commanded the garison of 8000 men at Rhegium, which Lævinus the consul had posted there against the Bruttii: the greatest part of them, as we formerly mentioned, was brought from Agathyrna, in Sicily, where they lived by robbing on the high-ways: and to these daily flocked Bruttian deserters, who were equally ready to go upon the most dangerous enterprizes, being prompted by their necessitous circumstances. He ordered these troops first to march to Bruttium, in order to lay waste that country, and afterwards to attack the city of Caulonia<sup>a</sup>. They executed his orders with zeal and vigor, for having ravaged the lands and expelled the inhabitants, they attacked the city with all their force. Marcellus, in compliance with the consul's letter, and thinking himself, of all the Roman generals, the fittest match for Hannibal, quitted his winter quarters as soon as there was grass in the fields, and came up with the enemy near Canusium. Hannibal was at that time endeavoring to induce the inhabitants of that city to revolt; but as soon as he was apprized of the approach of Marcellus he decamped. The country was entirely open, and unfit for ambushes, which obliged him to retire to places full of woods. Marcellus followed him close, encamped near him, and had no sooner completed his works than he offered him battle. Hannibal contented himself with skirmishing by small detachments of horse and dartmen, not thinking it for his interest to hazard a general battle. However he was forced to it: for having decamped in the night, Marcellus, who never lost sight of him, came up with him in a flat and open plain, and attacking him as he was encamping, prevented his pioneers from completing their lines. In this manner they came to blows, and exerted their utmost efforts till

<sup>a</sup> Near *Cassellvettère*, in *Hither Calabria*.

night



night parted them, without any advantage on either side. They both entrenched themselves near each other very hastily, on account of the little daylight that remained. The next morning, as soon as it was light, Marcellus drew out his army. Hannibal did not decline the challenge. He harangued his soldiers: ‘Remember, said he, Thrasymen and Cannæ, repress the audacious forwardness of the enemy, who incessantly pursues and harasses you; who would not permit you either to march or encamp in quiet, or give you time to breathe or look about you. The rising sun and Roman army in battalia appear to us at the same time every day. A single victory, purchased with little blood, will send them away, and make them less importunate and eager to come to battle.’ Animated by these remonstrances, and vexed at being harassed by the daring enemy, they fought with extraordinary resolution. After the action had continued two hours the Roman right wing began to give way. Marcellus, who perceived it, made the eighteenth legion immediately advance to the front; but whilst the first were solely intent upon flying, and the latter took their posts very slowly; the whole main body of the army was pushed and put into disorder; and fear prevailing over shame, they all fled. About 2700 Romans and allies were killed in the battle and rout: amongst the rest four Roman centurions and two legionary tribunes, M. Licinius and M. Fulvius: the right wing of the allies that fled first lost four ensigns, and the legion sent to their support, two.

WHEN the soldiers were returned into the camp Marcellus reproached them with so much warmth and severity, that they were more affected with the expressions of their incensed general, than with the grief of having fought the whole day with disadvantage. ‘I thank the immortal Gods, said he, as much as is possible after so bad success, that the victorious enemy did not come and attack us in our works at the time when you fled thither with



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so much precipitation; for the same fear that made you quit the field of battle, would undoubtedly have made you abandon your lines. From whence could such terror and consternation arise? What could make you so soon forget yourselves and the enemy? Are they not the same you have so often defeated and pursued during the whole preceding campaign; the same you so often harassed night and day, and fatigued by continual skirmishes? whom yesterday you would neither suffer to march or encamp in quiet? But why do I mention any thing you could formerly boast of? Let me only put you in mind of what ought to make you blush and be ashamed. You was a match for the enemy in the battle yesterday. Gods! what a change has happened in the space of a night and day? Are your troops diminished? Are theirs increased? For my part, I do not seem to talk to my own soldiers or Romans. I see indeed the same men with the same arms: But if you had the same courageous hearts, would the Carthaginians have seen you fly like cowards? Would they have taken the ensigns of a single company or a single cohort? Hitherto they could only boast of having cut Roman legions in pieces; but you have given them this day the additional glory of seeing Romans turn their backs. These severe reprimands raised a general cry throughout the whole army. They entreated Marcellus to forget what had passed that day, and to put their valor to any proof he thought fit for the future. Well then, said he, I will try you by leading you on to battle to morrow; that you may obtain the pardon you ask as victors, not as vanquished. In the mean time, he ordered, that none but barley bread should be given to the cohorts, who had lost their ensigns, and that the centurions of the companies to whom that dishonor had happened, should stand for a certain time in the most public part of the camp without belts, and with their swords drawn in their hands; that they should also be under arms early



early the next morning both horse and foot. He then dismissed them, not a little mortified, but confessing that they deserved the reprimand; that there was not a man nor a Roman in their army that day except the general; and to make him a recompence for their misbehavior it was necessary either to conquer or die. The next day they were all under arms according to Marcellus's order. That general applauded the aspect and disposition in which he saw them, and declared, 'he would post those who had first fled and the cohorts who had lost their ensigns in the front.' He assured them farther, 'that it was necessary they should fight and conquer, and exert one and all their utmost endeavors to prevent the news of their yesterday's defeat from reaching Rome before she heard of that day's victory.' He then ordered them to refresh themselves with food, that they might have strength to sustain the fight, if it should prove long. After having said and done all that could animate the soldiers, he led them to battle.

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WHEN Hannibal was advised of his approach, he cried out, 'We have to do with a man that can neither bear good nor bad fortune. When victorious, he gives us no repose, and when vanquished, renews his attacks incessantly.' Which said, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and drew out his men. The battle was much more obstinate than that of the day before, the Carthaginians sparing no efforts to support the honor of their former victory, and the Romans to wipe off the disgrace of their defeat. Marcellus had posted the cohorts that lost their ensigns the day before in the front of the left wing, and the twentieth legion on the right wing. The two wings were commanded by L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Nero. He commanded the main body himself, that he might be a witness of all that passed, and in a condition to animate his troops upon occasion. Hannibal had posted the Spaniards, who were the flower of his army, in the front. But seeing that

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that the battle continued too long doubtful, he ordered the elephants to be brought on, with a view of occasioning disorder among the enemy. Accordingly they broke some of the ranks, and having trod down and put to flight all in their way, they laid open one part of the Roman army. More had been put to the rout if C. Decimus Flavus a legionary tribune, having seized the standard of the first company of the hastati had not ordered the troops of that company to follow him. He led them to the place where those enormous animals in one body caused the greatest confusion, and commanded them to discharge their javelins against them. Not one but took effect as they were thrown at so small a distance against such a number of vast beasts crowded together. However they were not all wounded; yet those that had spears in their backs taking flight, drew along with them also those that were not wounded, as it is the nature of those beasts to follow one another. Upon this, not the manipulus in a body, but each individual in it, as he best could, pursued and showered their darts upon all the elephants they could overtake. Those animals in consequence fell upon the Carthaginians with vast fury, and made greater havock among them than they had done amongst the Romans, as fear has much more effect upon them, and makes them much more fierce than the voices and hands of those that guide them. The Roman infantry immediately advanced against those ranks the elephants had broken, and easily put them to flight, as they had lost sight of their ensigns and could not rally. Marcellus then detached the cavalry after them, who pursued them to the gates of their camp, into which they entered with difficulty: for to augment their misfortune, two elephants had fallen dead in the gate, and as they had choaked up the entrance, the soldiers were obliged to climb over the palisades. In consequence the greatest slaughter was made there. About 8000 men and 5 elephants were killed upon the spot. This victory cost the Romans much blood. The two  
legions



legions lost about 1700 men, and the allies above 1300, without including a great number of wounded both citizens and allies. Hannibal decamped the night following; Marcellus was very desirous to pursue him, but the great number of his wounded men prevented him.

THOSE who were detached after the enemy's march, brought advice next day, that Hannibal was retired to Bruttium. At the same time the Hirpini, Lucanii, and Volscientes went over to the consul Q. Fulvius, and delivered up the Carthaginian garisons in their cities. That general received them kindly, only gently reprimanding them for their past fault. The Bruttians had likewise conceived some hopes of indemnity, when at the same time the two brothers, Vibius and Pactius, the chief of that nation, came, demanding the same conditions that had been given to the Lucanians. Q. Fabius took by storm Manduria in the country of the Salentines, where he took 4000 prisoners and a considerable booty. From thence he marched to Tarentum, and encamped at the very mouth of the port. Those ships that Livius had as convoys for his store-ships he laded with engines for battery, and partly with artillery, stones and darts of all kinds. He employed the transports as well as the galleys, to carry scaling ladders and other machines to the walls, and others had soldiers put aboard of them, to pelt the besieged from their ships. These were ready to attack them from the open sea; and there was no danger from the Carthaginian fleet; for it had sailed to Corcyra to assist Philip, who was preparing to attack the Ætolians. The besiegers of Caulonia being apprized of Hannibal's approach, abandoned their present enterprize, and having no other resource, retired to an eminence, lest they should have been surprized and overpowered by him. When Fabius was employ'd in the siege of Tarentum, a matter of very small importance proved effectual in taking a city of vast consequence. Hannibal had put a body of the Bruttians into this place to

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assist



CHAP. assist in defending it. He who commanded them  
xv. was desperately in love with a woman whose brother  
served in the army of Fabius. Upon a letter wrote  
by this woman to her brother, informing him of an  
intrigue that was between her and a rich foreigner,  
who made a considerable figure in his own country,  
he imagined by means of this sister he could bring  
the young lover into any measures he pleased, and  
informed the consul of his design. When the project  
seemed feasible, he was suffered to go to Tarentum  
as a deserter. By the help of his sister he ingratiated  
himself with the Bruttian general. At first he sound-  
ed him with reserve, but at length, when fully con-  
vinced of his levity, by means of his sister's fond  
caresses he prevailed with him to deliver up the quar-  
ter of the city of which he had the guard. When  
they had concerted the means, and agreed on the  
time for executing this design, the soldier came pri-  
vately in the night through the enemy's guards to  
Fabius, and acquainted him with the measures he  
had taken with the Bruttian. The Roman general  
having given, at the beginning of the night, the signal  
to those that defended the citadel and those who had  
the guard of the port and fleet, he himself went round  
the harbor, and lay concealed on the east side of the  
town. Then the trumpets began to sound at once  
from the citadel, the port, and the ships that ad-  
vanced from the open sea, and great cries and much  
noise were made in all places, where the city was in  
the least danger. Fabius in the mean time kept his  
troops very silent. It happened that Democrates,  
who had lately been admiral of the fleet, had the  
command of that part of the city, where Fabius lay  
in ambush: this officer seeing all was quiet on that  
side, whereas he heard elsewhere such shouts and  
cries as are commonly the consequence of a town's  
being taken, apprehended that whilst he hesitated  
Fabius was assaulting some other post. He therefore  
marched with the troops he had towards the citadel,  
where the greatest noise and tumult was heard. Fabius  
soon



soon perceived his motion both by the time and ceasing of the noise in that post, where the cry to arms before resounded to the skies, and immediately caused ladders to be placed at the part of the wall where the Bruttians were posted, as he had been directed by the soldier that managed this intelligence. The Romans took that part first by the assistance of the Bruttians, who received them as they came up. The nearest gate was soon after broke open, which made way for Fabius's troops to enter in great numbers. Then sending up a great shout about break of day, they advanced as far as the market-place, and drew upon them all those that fought on the side of the citadel and port.

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THE battle began at the entrance of the forum with great fury, but was not long maintained by the Tarentines who were much inferior to the Romans in valor, arms, military discipline and strength of body. Accordingly they had no sooner discharged their javelins, than almost before they came to close fight, they turned their backs, and made off through ways that they knew into their own houses or those of their friends. Two of their generals fell in the battle sword in hand, Nico and Democrates. Philomenus, who had been principally concerned in giving up the town to Hannibal, having escaped, his horse was afterwards seen running up and down without a rider; but his body could never be found. It was generally believed, he threw himself off his horse into an open pit. Carthalo, who commanded the Carthaginian garison, having laid down his arms, was coming to the consul, to put him in mind of an ancient friendship that subsisted between him and his father; but was unfortunately killed by a common soldier. The Romans put all they met to the sword without regard to their being armed or unarmed, Carthaginian or Tarentine. They did not spare even the Bruttians, whether they did not know them, or killed them to satiate their ancient hatred, or to make it seem as if Tarentum had been taken

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**CHAP.** taken by force of arms and not by stratagem. After  
**xvi.** the soldiers had committed great slaughter, they  
plundered the city. They took 30000 prisoners  
whom they sold for slaves. They found in it a great  
quantity of silver, both coined and in plate, and  
four score seven pound weight of gold; likewise al-  
most as many statues and paintings as had been taken  
in Syracuse. But Fabius, for want of Marcellus's  
taste, abstained from that kind of plunder. When  
the quæstor asked him what he would have done  
with the fine portraits of their Gods drawn larger  
than the life in the attitude of warriors with drawn  
swords in their hands, he answered, ' Let us leave  
' the Tarentines their angry Gods! ' Then the wall  
which divided the citadel from the city was thrown  
down. Whilst these things passed at Tarentum,  
Hannibal obliged those who besieged Caulonia to  
surrender to him, and having received advice, that  
Tarentum was attacked, marched night and day  
to it's relief; but being informed on his rout, that  
the city was taken, he said, ' Nay then the Romans  
' have their Hannibal too. We have lost Tarentum  
' by the same art that we took it.' But not to seem  
to have fled, he did not return directly, but encamped  
in the same place, where he had halted, about five  
miles from the city. After having remained there a  
few days, he retired to Metapontum, from whence  
he sent two of the inhabitants to Fabius, who was  
still at Tarentum, with counterfeited letters, from the  
principal persons of the city, offering to deliver it up  
with the Carthaginian garison, upon condition that  
their past conduct should be pardoned. Fabius be-  
lieved their message too lightly, and fixed a day with  
the deputies when he would approach Metapontum:  
so he dismissed them with letters for the principal  
persons of that city, which were immediately carried  
to Hannibal. That general, transported to think  
that even the cautious Fabius might be over-reached,  
laid an ambuscade near Metapontum. But the  
consul having found the auspices unpropitious upon  
repeated



repeated trials, and the haruspex, as he was sacrificing, warning him to beware of the snares of the enemy, did not quit Tarentum. The people of Metapontum, seeing he did not come on the day fixed, dispatched the same deputies to him to press him to come; he seized them, and the fear of the tortures, with which he threatened them, made them discover the whole.

P. SCIPIO had employed the whole preceding CHAP. winter in conciliating the affections of the Spanish states, sometimes by presents, and sometimes by the restitution of their hostages and prisoners without ransom. In the beginning of the spring, one of the most illustrious of the Spaniards, named Edesco, came to him. His wife and children were in the hands of the Romans, but besides that motive, he was induced by the general disposition of the nation to prefer the side of the Romans to that of the Carthaginians. The same motive induced Mandonius and Indibilis, who were undoubtedly the most considerable princes of Spain, to retire with all their vassals to the eminencies that commanded the camp of the Carthaginians, and from whence by continuing to keep the hills, they might arrive at the Roman army, without apprehending any thing from Asdrubal, whom they had abandoned. That general, seeing that the enemy's affairs became exceeding superior, whilst those of the Carthaginians declined every day; and that their progress could be only checked by some distinguishing blow, resolved to come to a battle immediately. Scipio was as ardently desirous of that as Asdrubal, not only because his success had elevated his courage, but because he chose rather to fight a single enemy, than to have them all at once upon his hands. And in case he could not have avoided fighting with more than one enemy, he fell on a wise precaution to strengthen his army; for as he had no use for his fleet, since the Carthaginians had none on the coast, he laid up his ships in the port of Tarraco, and added his sea to his land



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land forces. He had arms sufficient for them all out of the spoils of Carthage, and what he had caused to be made by the workmen, whom he had shut up in the arsenals and magazines of the city. With these forces Scipio at the beginning of the spring quitted Tarraco, and marched in quest of the enemy with Lælius, who was returned from Rome, and without whom he could not attempt any important enterprize. He met with none upon his march but friends and allies, who came from all parts to receive and accompany him. It was upon this march that Mandonius and Indibilis came to join him with their troops. Indibilis was the spokesman, and addressed Scipio with a politeness and dignity, not to be expected from a barbarian. ‘ He excused his  
‘ changing of sides, as more the effect of necessity,  
‘ than taking honor from it to himself ; as a reso-  
‘ lution taken out of wantonness, and executed with  
‘ precipitation. He knew that the name of a de-  
‘ ferter was as suspicious to new allies as it was de-  
‘ testable to old ones. He did not blame mankind  
‘ for entertaining that opinion, provided only that  
‘ the name of deserter were not considered, but the  
‘ reasons every man might have for becoming so.  
‘ Then he expatiated upon the important services  
‘ which his brother and himself had rendered the  
‘ Carthaginian generals, and the insatiable avarice,  
‘ insupportable arrogance, and all kinds of injuries,  
‘ with which they had repaid them and their sub-  
‘ jects ; in consequence himself and his brother had  
‘ long worn only the outside of an attachment to the  
‘ Carthaginians, but their hearts and affections  
‘ had been on the side of those, by whom they knew  
‘ that right and justice were religiously observed.  
‘ They prayed the Gods, they might find protecti-  
‘ on against injustice and violence, and all they ask-  
‘ ed of Scipio, was to make neither a merit nor a  
‘ crime of their change ; but judge of them from  
‘ the conduct he should see them observe for the fu-  
‘ ture.’ Scipio replied, ‘ That was his very intent,  
‘ and



and he would not tax princes with infidelity and desertion, who did not think themselves bound to observe treaties with a people that equally despised all laws human and divine.' Their wives and children were then returned to them, whom they received with tears of joy; and the same day Scipio gave them a splendid entertainment. Next day he made a treaty with them, and sent them to bring up their troops. After that they continued in the Roman camp, and served as guides to lead Scipio to the enemy.

ASDRUBAL, with the Carthaginian army, CHAP. XVIII. lay very near them about the city of Bæcula, and posted his horse as an advanced guard before his camp. The Roman light troops, the antesignani and front line, though much fatigued with their march, attacked them with the utmost contempt before they had encamped; so that it might easily appear how much courage and resolution was to be found on both sides. The horse were obliged to retire to their camp with the utmost confusion, and the Roman army had almost advanced up to it. Then they encamped, having only by that day's skirmish prepared themselves for a greater action. Asdrubal posted his army upon an eminence in the night time, on the top of which there was a plain of considerable extent, surrounded in the rear, front and flank, by a river. A little below that plain, by a pretty easy descent, there was a second, no less difficult of access than the former. The next day Asdrubal, seeing the Romans drawn up before their entrenchments, made his Numidian cavalry, and light Balearians and Africans, march down into the second plain. Scipio rode through the several ranks of his army, and animated his troops, by representing to them, 'that the enemy despairing of being able to oppose them on fair ground, had seized the eminences, and relying more on the situation of the place, than in courage and arms, appeared in view from that high post. But the Roman soldiers had



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‘ scaled the walls of Carthagera, which were much  
‘ higher. Neither eminences, nor fortified places,  
‘ nor even the sea itself had stopt them in their ca-  
‘ reer. The enemy had industriously possessed the  
‘ top of that eminence, to favor their retreat by  
‘ rocks and precipices; but I expect to disconcert  
‘ that project. and blockade them there.’ Upon  
this he ordered two battalions, the one to seize the  
narrow pass of the plain, which was watered by the  
river, and the other to possess that road which led  
from the city across the eminence to the fields. He  
immediately advanced at the head of a detachment  
of his light armed troops, who the day before had  
defeated the enemy’s advanced guards, to attack the  
Numidians and slingers, posted by Asdrubal upon  
the second plain. They had a rough inaccessible way  
to pass through, which was the only thing that an-  
noyed them in their march. But when they came  
up close to the enemy, they had to sustain a shower  
of missiles of all kinds discharged upon them; on  
the other hand they pelted them with stones; so  
that a number of knapsack boys mingling with the  
soldiers, proved as useful as the disciplined men.  
Though the ascent was very difficult, and they were  
almost buried in a shower of darts, yet being inured  
to scaling of walls, and never to quit an attack, the  
front of the army gained the top of it. When they  
had come to level ground, where they had firm  
footing, finding that the enemy could shift for them-  
selves by changing places, and flying about in slight  
skirmishes, which were fought at a distance, but  
when closely engaged were obliged to give ground;  
they made a great slaughter of them, and forced  
those that escaped to rejoin the main body upon  
the higher eminence. Scipio then ordered the vic-  
torious troops to advance directly against the cen-  
tre of the enemy, and divided the rest with Lælius,  
giving him orders to fetch a compass to the right  
round the hill, to find the easiest way to ascend it:  
as for himself, turning to the left, after taking a  
small



small compass, he advanced to attack the enemy in flank. The Carthaginians were hereby presently put into disorder, whilst they were endeavoring to face the enemy that advanced on different sides with great shouts. Whilst they were in this confusion Lælius arrived. Upon which they immediately fell back to prevent their being taken in the rear: and the first line having opened, gave the second room to fly, which they could never have done as long as their ranks were entire and the front covered by their elephants, considering the incommodious situation of the ground. A great carnage ensued on all sides, and Scipio, who with his left attacked the enemy's right in front, now charged them in the flank, where they were defenceless. No way was by this time left them to escape; for the Roman guards had seized all the avenues, both on the right and left. The gate of their camp also was blocked up by the general and other principal men in their flight: Besides they were as much afraid of the elephants, who were frightened, as of the enemy. They lost in this action about 8000 men.

AS DRUBAL before the battle had taken care CHAP. to send off the treasure; and afterwards, having made XIX. the elephants set out first, and drawn together as many of the flying troops as he could, he retired to the other side of the Tagus, and took his rout towards the Pyrenees. Scipio having made himself master of the enemies camp, plundered it, and gave all the spoils to his soldiers, except the persons of free condition, who were 10000 foot and 2000 horse. The Africans he ordered to be sold, and dismissed all the Spaniards without ransom. They were so highly affected with this act of generosity, that those of them whom he had taken the preceding day, and who had surrendered to him before, assembled around him, and with unanimous acclamations saluted him king. Scipio after having ordered a herald to proclaim silence replied, 'That he knew no title more glorious than that of general, which he constantly



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received from the soldiers : that of king, so much honored and revered every where else, was detestable at Rome : if they thought he had a princely mind, and considered that as the highest they could bestow on a man of merit, they might think of him as they pleased in private, but he begged them not to call him by that name openly.' Those people, barbarous as they were, discerned the greatness and elevation of soul there was in despising a title so much wished and admired by the rest of mortals. He afterwards made all the Spanish nobility presents, and out of a great number of horses that were part of the spoils, he desired Indibilis to chuse 300 for himself. Whilst the quæstor was employed in selling the African prisoners, according to the order of the general, a youth was brought to him of so noble an aspect, as distinguished him from all the rest : Being informed that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio. That general asked him, ' who he was, and of what country, and how, being so young, he came to be in the battle ? ' He answered, ' he was a Numidian, and his name Massiva. That having had the misfortune to lose his father, he had been educated in the palace of Gala, king of the Numidians, his grand-father by the mother's side : that he had very lately arrived in Spain with his uncle Masinissa, when the latter came with his cavalry to the aid of the Carthaginians. That Masinissa on account of his youth had not suffered him to be present in any engagement ; that the day the last was fought between the Romans and Carthaginians, he had secretly taken an horse and arms, and thrown himself into the midst of the action, unknown to his uncle : But his horse having been killed under him, he had fallen with him and was taken by the Romans.' Scipio ordered care to be taken of him then : When the affairs which kept him upon his tribunal were over, and he returned to his tent, he sent for him and asked him, ' whether he desired to return to Masinissa ? ' The boy



boy answered with tears of joy in his eyes, ‘ he de-  
 ‘ fired it above all things.’ Upon which Scipio gave  
 him a gold ring, a robe with broad clasps, a mili-  
 tary coat in the Spanish fashion with a gold button,  
 and an horse with rich furniture : after which he  
 dismissed him under an escorte of horse, who had  
 orders to attend him as far as he should think fit.

SCIPIO having assembled a council of war to CHAP.  
 deliberate on their future operations, some were of XX.  
 opinion, that he should pursue Asdrubal without loss  
 of time ; but he differed from them, apprehending  
 some danger that Mago and the other Asdrubal might  
 arrive time enough to join their colleague with their  
 forces. For this reason, contenting himself with  
 sending some troops to occupy the pass of the Pyrenees,  
 he employed the rest of the campaign in receiving  
 the submission of the states of Spain. Scipio’s appre-  
 hension was well founded ; for some days after the  
 battle of Bæcula, he had scarce quitted the defiles of  
 Castulon, on his return to Tarraco, when he received  
 advice, that Mago and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco,  
 were come from Further Spain to join Asdrubal, the  
 son of Hamilcar, too late to save him from his late  
 defeat, but soon enough to give him good counsel  
 and useful aid for the time to come. The three ge-  
 nerals united and held a council of war, to deliberate  
 on the disposition of the different states of Spain :  
 Asdrubal, son of Gisco, was of opinion that those  
 who inhabited the extremities of the province next  
 the ocean and Cadiz, knowing the Romans but lit-  
 tle, were still in the interest of the Carthaginians,  
 and that their fidelity might be relied on. The other  
 Asdrubal and Mago agreed, ‘ that Scipio by his  
 ‘ beneficence had conciliated the affections both of  
 ‘ states and individuals ; and that there never would  
 ‘ be an end of the revolt to him, till all the Spanish  
 ‘ soldiers were marched to the extremities of the pro-  
 ‘ vince, or even into Gaul. For these reasons, though  
 ‘ the senate of Carthage had not ordered it, Asdrubal  
 ‘ should march into Italy, the principal seat of the  
 H h 3 ‘ war,



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XX.

war, and where the dispute between the two powers was to be decided. This step was necessary, if it were only to remove the Spaniards out of a country where the name of Scipio was in so much veneration. The losses his army had sustained, either by bad success in battle, or desertions, should be recruited with Spanish soldiers. It was also proper that Mago should leave the command of this army to Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, and go with a large sum of money to the Balearian islands, to raise soldiers, and then with his troops retire into the farthest parts of Lusitania, and avoid coming to a battle with the Romans. The flower of the whole cavalry should be chosen, to form a body of 3000 horse, with which Masinissa should overrun Hither Spain, to aid the allies of the Carthaginians, ravage the countries, and plunder the towns of the enemy. After having formed these projects, they separated in order to put them in execution. This is all that passed in Spain this year. Scipio's reputation at Rome increased daily. That of Fabius always sustained itself, and the taking of Tarentum, though more the effect of stratagem than force, did not fail to do him honor. But the reputation of Fulvius vanished, and Marcellus was even in disgrace; for, besides having been defeated by the Carthaginians, he had put his troops into quarters at Venusia, in the middle of the campaign, whilst Hannibal kept the field, and traversed Italy. C. Publicius Bibulus, tribune of the people, was his declared enemy. By continually exclaiming against him in all the assemblies of the people from the first day he had been worsted by Hannibal, he had already much injured his reputation among the people, and they talked of nothing less than divesting him of his command. But his friends prevailed that he should leave one of his lieutenants at Venusia, whilst he came to Rome to justify himself against the accusations of his enemies. By accident Marcellus and Fulvius arrived at Rome the same day; the first to obviate an affront intended



intended him, and the other to preside in the assemblies which were to be held for the election of consuls.

THE affair of Marcellus came on in the Flaminian circus, before a great concourse of people and in presence of all the orders of the state. The tribune of the people not only attacked him, but the whole nobility. He said, 'it was by their artifices and delays, that Hannibal had continued ten years in Italy, and lived longer there than he had done at Carthage.' The Roman people were well rewarded for having continued Marcellus in command, whose army, twice beaten by the enemy, lay basking during the whole summer under the walls and roofs of Venusia. Marcellus placed his actions in such a light as to invalidate every thing the tribune had said; and not only the tribune's motion for divesting him of the command was rejected, but the next day all the centuries unanimously elected him consul. The people transfer'd the other fasces to T. Quinctius Crispinus, then prætor. Next day they elected the prætors, P. Licinius Crassus Dives the pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Julius Cæsar, and Q. Claudius flamen. At the same time that the assembly was held the people were in some anxiety about Hetruria, where a revolt was apprehended, and the pro-prætor Calpurnius had sent advice that the city of Arretium seemed to be at the head of the plot. Whereupon Marcellus the consul was immediately appointed to march thither and take cognizance of the affair; and if it should seem proper to him, he might draw his army out of Apulia thither. But his presence soon put a stop to the disorders among the Hetrurians. The deputies of Tarentum, who were sent to negotiate a peace and to demand the free exercise of their own laws, were ordered by the senate to return when Fabius came to Rome. The Roman and plebeian games were exhibited that year, and continued a day longer than usual. The curule ædiles were L. Cornelius Caudi-

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nus and Servius Sulpicius Galba. Those of the commons were C. Servilius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus. It was strenuously affirmed that Servilius had no right to be tribune or ædile of the people, in respect a report which had prevailed for ten years, 'that his father, when commissioner for partition of lands, had been killed by the Boians near Mutina,' was now contradicted, and it was said, he was alive, and in the hands of the enemy.

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XXII.

M. Claudius  
Marcellus,  
T. Quinctius  
Crispinus,  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 544  
B. J. C. 208.

THESE two consuls entered upon office the eleventh year of the Punic war, Marcellus for the fifth time, if you reckon the year which he bore not the office through a defect in his election, and T. Quinctius Crispinus for the first time. Both of them had Italy for their province, with the two armies that had served under the consuls of the preceding year. There was a third at Venusia lately commanded by Marcellus, so that they might have their choice of two out of the three, and that the third should serve under him who should have the government of Tarentum and the Salentines. The prætors also had each their province assigned them; Varus had that of the city; Crassus that of foreigners, or wherever the senate should think convenient to send him; Cæsar, Sicily; Q. Claudius the flamen, Tarentum. Flaccus had his commission renewed for a year, and the province of Capua fell to his lot, with the command of one legion, which had served under T. Quinctius the prætor. Tubulus was likewise continued in office, in order to be sent to Hetruria as pro-prætor, and succede C. Calpurnius in his command of the two legions there. Philo was continued in Gaul, in quality of pro-prætor, at the head of the two legions which he had when prætor. The senate decreed, that as Veturius had been continued in office, so Arunculeius should also, and it was referred to the people, who confirmed the sentence of the senate, continuing him in Sardinia, and the command of the two legions he had when prætor. For the surer defence of his province, he had the fifty ships of war which

Scipio



Scipio should send out of Spain. P. Scipio and M. Silanus were continued in the same province and at the head of the same army. The former having eighty ships under his command, which he had brought from Italy, or taken at Carthagera, was ordered to send over fifty of them to Sardinia: because they had received advice, that great naval preparations were making there; that they were equipping a fleet of two hundred sail, with which they would infest all the coast of Italy, Sicily and Sardinia. In Sicily, the army that remained after the battle of Cannæ was given to Cæsar. Lævinus, who, as we formerly observed, was continued in office, was to be admiral of the fleet of seventy ships which lay at Sicily: It was augmented with thirty which had been stationed before Tarentum the preceding year. He had a discretionary power to sail and ravage Africa with his fleet, which now consisted of an hundred sail. P. Sulpicius had the command of the same fleet on the coast of Macedonia and Greece for another year. There was no alteration made with regard to the two city legions; but the consuls were impowered to make as many new levies as they thought proper. The whole force of the Roman empire consisted this year of twenty one legions. Varus the city prætor had orders to careen the thirty old ships that lay at Ostia, and to equip and man twenty new ones to guard the coast near the city. C. Calpurnius was ordered not to march his army from Arretium, till a successor arrived. Tubulus had the same orders, and to observe particularly, that no commotions should break out there.

THE prætors set out for their provinces, but the consuls were detained by superstitious scruples, being informed of some prodigies that had happened. In their sacrifices they had not found the Gods propitious to them. They had advice from Capua, that the two temples of Fortune and Mars and several tombs were struck with lightening. At Cumæ rats had gnawed some of the gold in Jupiter's temple: So  
apt



CHAP. apt. is superstition to interest the Gods in the most  
 XXIII. trifling occurrences. At Casinum a swarm of bees  
 settled in the market place: the wall and gate of  
 Ostia was struck with lightening: at Cere a vulture  
 flew into Jupiter's temple: at Volsinii a lake had  
 flowed with blood. A supplication was appointed  
 for one day on account of these prodigies: The  
 greater sacrifices were offered up for several days  
 without any signs that the Deities were appeased, and  
 for a long time the Gods continued incensed. These  
 prodigies presaged the ruin of the consuls, but the  
 commonwealth sustained no damage. The Apolli-  
 narian games had been first exhibited by P. Cornelius  
 Sylla, prætor of the city, during the consulship of  
 Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius. All the succeeding  
 prætors had copied his example, and celebrated them  
 once a year, but had not fixed any particular day  
 for that purpose. This year a contagious distemper  
 had seized the city and country round, which in the  
 event proved lingering but not mortal, as at the be-  
 ginning. Publick supplications were ordered to be  
 put up in all the temples, and at all the shrines, on ac-  
 count of that infection, and Varus was ordered to  
 present a bill to the people, that they should fix a  
 day for the celebrating of the games. Whereupon  
 he was the first man that vowed and fixed the fifth  
 of August as the anniversary of this festival, which  
 was always afterwards duly observed.

CHAP. THE disquiet increasing every day in respect to  
 XXIV. the people of Arretium, the senate wrote to the pro-  
 prætor Tubulus, to demand hostages of them im-  
 mediately, and sent C. Terentius Varro thither to  
 receive and bring them to Rome. As soon as the  
 latter arrived, Hostilius marched against the city  
 with the legion encamped before it, and posted guards  
 at all proper places: Having summoned the senators  
 into the forum, he demanded hostages of them.  
 Upon their asking two days to consider of it, he de-  
 clared, that if they did not comply directly, the  
 next day he would take away all the children of the  
 senators.



senators. He then gave orders, that the officers of the legions and allies should keep a strict guard at the gates, that no body might quit the city. The negligence with which this order was executed gave seven of the principal senators opportunity, before the guards were posted, to leave the place before night, with their children. Being next day missed when the senators were assembled, their estates were confiscated and sold. From the remaining senators six-score hostages were taken, and delivered to Terentius, to be carried to Rome. When Terentius came into the senate, he increased their jealousy of the insurrection, and as if some great storm threatened them from Hetruria, he was ordered to march one of the city legions to garison Arretium. They likewise ordered C. Hostilius to reconnoitre the whole country with his army, and to prevent those who desired an insurrection from rising. When Terentius arrived at Arretium with his legion, he demanded the keys of the gates from the magistrates. But as they said they could not find them, concluding that they had rather designedly put them out of the way, than lost them through negligence, he caused new ones to be made: and was extremely cautious to keep the inhabitants in awe; he expressly told Hostilius, that he needed never expect to keep the Hetrurians in subjection by any other means, than putting it out of their power to revolt.

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THE affair of the Tarentines was canvassed afterwards in the senate, with abundance of warmth. Fabius, who had reduced them, used all his credit to defend them against others who with virulence maintained, that as they were no less criminal than the Capuans, they ought to be punished with as much severity. After great debates the senate, agreeable to the opinion of M. Acilius, decreed, 'that a strong garison should be kept in their town; that all the inhabitants should be kept within the walls, and that, when the peace of Italy should be restored, their affair should be examined anew.'

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xxv.

They



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xxv.

They were no less divided in respect to the manner in which M. Livius governor of the citadel of Tarentum should be treated. Some were for having a note of infamy stamp'd upon him by a decree of the senate, for having through negligence suffered the enemy to become masters of the city. Others were for rewarding him for having defended the citadel during five years, and affirmed it was owing to him that Tarentum had been retaken; and that to stigmatize a citizen was the business of the censors, not the senate. 'It is well observed,' said Fabius, and smiling added, 'If Livius had not lost that city, I should not have retaken it.' T. Quinctius Crispinus, one of the consuls, set out with recruits to the army lately commanded by Q. Fulvius Flaccus, which was then in Lucania. Marcellus was detained upon some religious consideration. When he was engaged in the war with Gaul, he had vowed at Clastidium to build a temple to Honor and Virtue, but the college of pontiffs had stopt it's consecration, alledging, that one temple could only be built for one God, in regard if it should happen to be struck with lightening, or any other prodigy appear in it, the expiation would prove difficult, because they would not know to which of the Gods they were to sacrifice, and that two Deities could not be atoned with one and the same expiation. Whereupon they run up another temple to Virtue in all haste, but he did not then consecrate either: For he set out with recruits for the army, which he had left at Venusia. Because the affair of Tarentum had raised the reputation of Fabius, Crispinus attempted the siege of Locri in Bruttium, and prepared all warlike engines and machines for the siege, which he had brought with him out of Sicily; he had also sent for ships to attack it on the side next the sea. However, as Hannibal had come to Lacinium, and he had received advice that his colleague had quitted Venusia with his army, and was resolved to join him, he raised the siege, and returned to Apulia. The two armies met and encamped



camped separately between Venusia and Bantia<sup>a</sup>, at about a league from each other. Hannibal quitted the country of the Locrians, and approached their army. The consuls who were both equally active and warm, drew out their troops in order of battle almost every day, not doubting but they should terminate the war happily, if Hannibal should dare to venture a battle with the united armies of them both.

HANNIBAL the preceding year had engaged Marcellus twice: once he proved victor, and the second time was worsted: so that if he were to come to blows with him again, he had no reason to be afraid on the one hand, nor to appear too haughty on the other; but he knew he was no match for the two consuls and their combined armies. Therefore he confined himself entirely to stratagem, and thought only of laying ambuscades for the enemy. As by this means the two consuls saw the campaign would be spent in skirmishing, they did not drop the siege of Locri, but wrote to L. Cincius directly to transport his fleet from Sicily to besiege it by sea, and ordered a body of troops then in garison at Tarentum to invest it by land. Hannibal, having intelligence of what passed by some Thurini, detached 3000 foot and 2000 horse, with orders to post themselves in ambuscade, in the way from Tarentum to Locri, in a valley under Petilia. The Romans, who had not sent out scouts before, fell into the snare. The enemy killed about 2000 of them, and took 1200 prisoners; the rest having taken to flight, dispersed themselves through the country and woods, and regained Tarentum. Between the Carthaginian entrenchments and those of the Romans, was an eminence covered with bushes, and full of cavities, which neither party had taken possession of at first, because the Romans did not know how that part of it was situated, that faced the enemies, and Hannibal concluded it was more commodious for an ambuscade than any thing else. Wherefore during the

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<sup>a</sup> In the *Basilicate*, not far from *Girgenza*.



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 xxvi. middle of the wood: they did not stir in the day,  
 that the Romans might not discover them, nor the  
 brightness of their arms betray them. The Romans  
 openly murmured, that it was necessary to seize  
 this post, and to intrench there, because if Hanni-  
 bal prevented them, they would have the enemy  
 over their heads. These murmurs made an im-  
 pression on Marcellus, and addressing himself to his  
 colleague, Let us go, said he, to view the place  
 ourselves with a detachment of horse. When we  
 have examined it with our eyes, we shall be better  
 qualified to take our resolution in regard to it.  
 Crispinus consented to it, and they immediately set  
 out with 200 horse, all Hetrurians; except 40 Fre-  
 gellani. M. Marcellus, the consul's son, and A.  
 Manlius, legionary tribunes, with L. Arennius and  
 M. Aulus, two captains of the allies, attended them.  
 Some authors inform us, that Marcellus the consul  
 offered up sacrifices that very day, and that the  
 liver of the first appeared without an head, but in  
 the second all appeared entire and sound, only there  
 was a kind of excrescence on the head of it, which  
 the haruspices had no good liking to, because the  
 entrails before had seemed short and imperfect, and  
 the others appeared too large and over-grown.

CHAP. THE consul Marcellus was so forward to give  
 xxvii. Hannibal battle, that he never thought he could en-  
 camp near enough to him. Upon his quitting the  
 intrenchments he left orders, that all the army  
 should be ready to follow with their baggage, in case  
 he should like the ground he was going to reconnoitre.  
 There was a little plain before the camp, from whence  
 an open road led up to the eminence. A Numidian  
 sentinel, posted there, not out of the least expectati-  
 on of what happened, but to give them notice when  
 to intercept the straggling foragers, gave the signal to  
 those in ambuscade to rise; those who were posted on  
 the top of the hill did not come directly down upon  
 the enemy, but secretly fetched a compass and attacked  
 them



them in the rear, to prevent their escape. Then they all sprung up, and raising great shouts, fell on the Roman detachment. The consuls, seeing it equally impossible to gain the eminence possessed by the enemy, or to return back, being surrounded on all sides, chose to defend themselves courageously. They would have disputed the victory longer, if the flight of the Hetrurians had not put the rest into a consternation. The Fregellani, abandoned by their companions, did not cease to fight as long as the consuls were at their head, and animated them by their discourse and example : But when they saw they were both wounded, and that Marcellus himself, after having been run through with a lance, fell dead from his horse, the few that remained fled with Crispinus, who had been run into the body with two javelins, and young Marcellus, who was also wounded. Aulus Manlius, the legionary tribune, and M. Aulus, one of the commanders of the allies, were killed in the action. L. Arennius was taken prisoner. Five of the consuls lictors fell alive into the enemies hands, the rest were either killed or fled with the consul. Forty three of the horse perished, either in the battle, or in the flight, and eighteen remained prisoners. The camp began to make some motions in order to go to the consul's aid, when Crispinus with his colleague's son, and the mournful remains of so unfortunate an expedition, were seen returning. Marcellus's death, deplorable in every respect, was more so as it leaves room to accuse him of having exposed his own person and that of his colleague, and at the same time the whole commonwealth, to the danger of perishing by an imprudent step, that suited neither his age, for he was then above sixty, nor the experience he ought to have acquired in the great number of years he had been in the service. I should certainly make too long a digression, if I should relate all the different accounts authors give of Marcellus's death. Not to mention others ; L. Cælius represents this matter in a three-fold light ; the one he had only by general report ;



report; the second founded on the funeral oration made in praise of Marcellus by his son, who was personally present in the action; and the third on his own proper search into, and particular information of the matter. However, though most of them differ in circumstances, yet all agree in the manner, that he was intercepted by an ambuscade.

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HANNIBAL, to take advantage of the terror which he well knew the death of Marcellus, and his colleague's wounds, must have spread amongst the Romans, marched immediately, and encamped with his army upon the eminence where the battle had been fought. He there found the body of Marcellus, which he caused to be interred. As to Crispinus, terrified by his colleague's death, and his own wounds, he retreated, in the dead of night, to the nearest and highest mountains, where he fortified his camp on all sides. On this occasion, both generals shewed abundance of address and prudence, the one in laying snares for the enemy, and the other in avoiding them. The ring of Marcellus had fallen into the hands of Hannibal with his body. Crispinus, fearing he might make some mischievous use of it, dispatched couriers to all the neighboring cities, to inform them, ' that his colleague was killed, and that Hannibal had ' his seal; in consequence they should not be deceived by letters that should come in the name of Marcellus.' The courier from Crispinus was scarce arrived at Salapia, when a letter came from Hannibal, but wrote in the name of Marcellus, to tell them, ' that he would be there the next night, and ' that they should have the garison ready, in case he ' should have occasion for them.' The Salapians perceived the cheat, and were well assured that the Carthaginian, enraged by their treachery, sought occasion to revenge it, as well as the loss of his cavalry, they dismissed his messenger, who was a Roman deserter, in order that they might take proper measures unobserved against the deceit of their enemy. The officers posted the inhabitants upon the walls, and in all



all the posts that needed guards, ordering the senti- CHAP.  
nels and guards to watch with the utmost care that XXVIII.  
night. They posted the flower of the garison round

the gate, where they judged Hannibal would arrive. He approached it about the fourth watch. The Roman deserters formed his advanced guard. They were armed in the Roman manner; and in Latin called to the sentinels, and ordered them to open the gate to the consul, who was upon the point of arriving. The sentinels, pretending to have been awakened by their voice, made a great noise and stir in opening the gate. As the portcullis was down, they partly made use of leavers, and partly of pulleys, for drawing it up so high, that the enemy might enter without stooping. The deserters had scarce patience to wait till it was high enough, but entered in crowds. When about six hundred of them had passed, the guards loosing the cords that kept the portcullis suspended, it fell with a great noise. The inhabitants immediately fell upon the deserters, who had entered with their arms slung on their backs, like persons marching among friends and allies; and drove back those without with stones, clubs and darts. Hannibal, having his own artifice turned upon himself, marched towards Locri, in order to raise the siege of that city, which Cincius carried on vigorously with machines of all kinds that he had brought from Sicily. Mago, who defended it, was almost in despair of being able to keep it, when the news of the death of Marcellus gave him some hope. That was soon increased by a courier from Hannibal, with advice that he had detached the Numidian cavalry before, and was advancing himself apace to his aid with his infantry. For this reason, as soon as he knew that the Numidians were upon the point of arriving, by the signal from an eminence, he caused the gates of the city to be opened, and attacked the besiegers with a boldness and vigor that amazed them. The surprise, and not the equality of forces, at first made victory doubtful. But the Numidians no sooner arrived,



rived, than the Romans were terrified, and made to their ships, leaving behind the machines they had used in battering the walls. Thus was the siege of Locri raised by Hannibal's arrival.

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WHEN Crispinus received advice that the Carthaginian general was set out for Bruttium, he ordered M. Marcellus, the legionary tribune, to march the army his colleague had commanded to Venusia. As for himself he set out for Capua with the legions in a litter, the agitation of which he could scarce support, his wounds pained him so much. On his departure he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and his own danger. ‘ He  
 ‘ could not come to Rome to preside at the elections  
 ‘ because he was not able to support the fatigue of  
 ‘ the journey, and besides he was apprehensive lest  
 ‘ Hannibal should leave Bruttium, and make some  
 ‘ attempts on Tarentum; he desired some sena-  
 ‘ tors of prudence might be sent to him, that he  
 ‘ might communicate to them what he thought for  
 ‘ the interest of the republic.’ The reading of this letter occasioned great grief for the death of one of the consuls, and fear for the life of the other. They sent Q. Fabius, the son of Maximus, to the army at Venusia, and three commissioners to the consul, Sex. Julius Cæsar, L. Licinius Pollio, and L. Cincius Alimentus, who had returned some days before from Sicily. They had orders to tell him, ‘ that if  
 ‘ he could not come to Rome, he should nominate a  
 ‘ dictator to preside at the elections. If the consul  
 ‘ should be gone to Tarentum, that Q. Claudius,  
 ‘ the prætor in that province, should march the le-  
 ‘ gions to such places as he could cover most of the  
 ‘ allies at once.’ During this same campaign, M. Valerius went from Sicily to Africa, with a fleet of an hundred sail, made a descent near Clupea, and ravaged all the country around it without any obstruction. But he retired in precipitation aboard his ships, because he was informed that a Carthaginian fleet of 83 sail was upon the point of arriving. He  
 gave



gave it battle in the neighborhood of Clupea, took 18 ships, and put the rest to flight. Then he returned to Lilybæum with much booty. During the same campaign, the Achæans demanded assistance of king Philip, which he granted. Machanidas, king of Lacedæmon, at that time harassed them with a war upon their confines; the Ætolians also having transported an army over the streight of Rhion<sup>a</sup>, that runs between Naupactus and Patras<sup>b</sup>, ravaged their country. It was also generally reported that Attalus, a king of Asia, whom the Ætolians in the last general diet had elected chief magistrate of their state, was going to invade Europe.

AS king Philip was marching into Greece, the Ætolians, under command of Pyrrhias, who had been elected prætor that year in absence of king Attalus, met him at Lamia<sup>a</sup>. Their army had been reinforced by Attalus's troops, and 1000 men sent from the Roman fleet by P. Sulpicius. Philip defeated this general and his army in two battles, in both which they lost about 1000 men. The Ætolians were struck with the greatest terror and consternation, and shut themselves up within the walls of Lamia. Philip retired to Phalera<sup>b</sup>. There is a place situated in the Malaic Gulph<sup>c</sup>, which is well inhabited on account of it's commodious ports and roads for ships, besides for a considerable traffick both by sea and land, where arrived deputies from Ptolemy king of Ægypt, the Rhodians, Athenians, and Chii, in order to terminate the war between Philip and the Ætolians. Aminander, king of the Athamanes, was sent to negotiate the peace for the Ætolians, and the neighboring people. They were not so much concerned for the Ætolians, because they were of a more fierce and wild disposition than the Greeks naturally were: but that which gave them most uneasiness was, lest Philip, by interesting him-

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<sup>a</sup> *Stretto di Lepanto.*

<sup>b</sup> In the same country, and near

<sup>b</sup> *Paleopatraz, on the Saronic Gulph.* the mouth of the *Sperchius.*

<sup>a</sup> *Lamina, an inland town of* <sup>c</sup> *The gulph of Zeiton.*  
*Phthiotis in Thessaly.*



CHAP. self in the affairs of Greece, should ruin it's liberty.

xxx. The peace was referred to a general diet of the Achæans, and the time and place were appointed for it's meeting. Mean time they agreed upon a cessation of arms for thirty days. Then Philip went through Theffaly and Bœotia, and arrived at Chalcis<sup>d</sup> of Eubœa, to divert Attalus from landing, who as he was informed was to touch at Eubœa with his fleet. Then having left a force sufficient to oppose Attalus, if he should happen to land, he marched himself to Argos, with a small body of horse and a few light troops. There by an unanimous suffrage of the people, he was chosen to celebrate and exhibit the Herean and Nemean games, because the kings of Macedon affirm, that they are sprung of that city. When the games were ended, he immediately set out for Rhios, where the general diet of the allies had been appointed to meet. Here they deliberated on proper measures to terminate the Ætolian war, so as to prevent the Romans on the one hand, and Attalus on the other, from entering Greece. But the Ætoliens overturned all their proceedings by the hostilities they committed, even in the time of the cessation of arms, which they were induced to by receiving intelligence that Attalus had arrived at Æginum<sup>e</sup>, and that the Roman fleet lay at anchor before Naupactus. They were summoned to a general diet of the Achæans, where were all the deputies that had been before at Phalera. The first thing the diet did was to complain of the infraction of the truce. In fine they absolutely insisted, that the war could not be terminated, unless the Achæans restored Pylos<sup>f</sup> to the Messæniens<sup>g</sup>, Atintania<sup>h</sup> be delivered up to the Romans, and the Ardyæi<sup>i</sup> to Scherdiletus and Pleuratus. Philip thought himself highly affronted in having terms thus prescribed him by those he had

<sup>d</sup> *Negropont.*

<sup>e</sup> Now *Engia* in the *Saronic Gulph*.

<sup>f</sup> Now *Navarino*, in the district of *Belvedere*, in the *Morea*.

<sup>g</sup> A province of *Peloponnese*, between the gulph of *Messena* and Cy-

*parissus*. It is now comprehended partly under the name of *Zachamia*, and part belongs to *Belvedere*, provinces of the *Morea*.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. iii.

<sup>i</sup> Now *Arenza* in *Illyricum*.

conquered.



conquered. He openly declared, ‘ that he had neither consented to a general peace, nor come into the cessation of arms, upon any hopes that the Ætolians would be quiet; but that it might appear evident to all the allies, that the continuation of the war was entirely owing to them, he being willing to lay down his arms upon honorable terms.’ Thus the congress broke up, without effecting any thing. He left 4000 men as a guard to the Achæans, and received of them five ships of force; which when joined to the Carthaginian fleet that was lately sent him, and the navy he expected from Prusias king of Bithynia, he resolved to humble the pride of the Romans, who had long been masters of these seas. He returned directly to Argos; for the time for celebrating the Nemæan games approached, where he was very anxious to be present in person.

WHILE the king was busied in preparing for these games, and indulging himself too licentiously in these diversions, especially in a time of war, P. Sulpicius, sailing from Naupactus, had landed between Sicyon and Corinth, and ravaged that country, so remarkable for fertility. On this news, Philip left his amusements, and marched with expedition at the head of his cavalry, having left orders to his foot to follow him: he attacked the Romans straggling up and down and encumbered with plunder, and forced them to fly to their ships. The Roman fleet sailed back to Naupactus with their spoils, but much dispirited. Philip ordered the celebration of the games to be continued with the greatest pomp and magnificence. His victory over the Romans had been exaggerated by report, which made them spend the time in the greatest mirth and jollity: besides, he had laid aside his diadem, royal robes, and other badges of sovereignty, and appeared in the same drels as his subjects, the most grateful sight to free states. From this they entertained great hopes of enjoying their liberty, but his intolerable and shocking licentiousness dashed all their expectations: for he

CHAP  
XXXI.



CHAP.

XXXI.

frequently went about from house to house of married people, with one or two of his courtiers, and his appearing as a private person, made him abandon himself to the greatest debauchery, and while he only flattered others with a shew of liberty, turned all to his own licentiousness. His pleasures did not cost him dear, neither did he compass them only by flattery and fair speeches, but used force; so that it became dangerous to fathers and husbands to put a stop to his unlawful amours. There was one Aratus, a chief man among the Achæans, whose wife Polycratia he decoyed, upon pretence of marrying her, and carried her to Macedon. The games being ended, and thereby a stop put to his licentious debaucheries, he in a few days after marched to Dymæ<sup>a</sup>, in order to dislodge a garison of the Ætolians, which they had brought from Elis<sup>b</sup>, and received into the city. Cycliadas, chief magistrate, and the other Achæans, met the king there. They were incensed against the Eleans, because they had separated from the other states of Achæa, and bore a grudge at the Ætolians, because they thought it was through their instigation the Romans had declared war against them. They marched in conjunction from Dymæ, and passed the river Larissus, which divides Elis from Dymæ.

CHAP.

XXXII.

WHEN they entered the enemies country, they spent the first day in plundering it. The next they advanced up to the city in order of battle, having detached a squadron of horse before to ride up to the gates, and provoke the Ætolians, who were naturally apt to make sallies. They did not know that P. Sulpicius had arrived from Naupactus at Cyllene<sup>a</sup> with 15 ships of war, and had entered the city with 4000 men, whom he had landed in the night to prevent their being discovered. In consequence, when they saw the Roman standards mixed with the Ætolians and Eleans, it struck them into a panic. The king at first resolved to retreat, but seeing the Æto-

<sup>a</sup> Now *Chiarenza*, a maritime city of *Proper Achæia*.

<sup>b</sup> Now *Belvedere*.

<sup>a</sup> Now *Atravida*, between *Dymæ* and *Pylus*.



lians and Trallians engaged, and his own men hard pressed, he charged a Roman Squadron with his cavalry. His horse being run through with a lance, and himself thrown headlong to the ground, increased the fury of the battle on both sides; the Romans attacking him strenuously, and his guards making a gallant resistance. He himself after he was dismounted, and obliged to fight on foot amidst a body of cavalry, behaved with the greatest bravery. But his guards, finding they had the worst of it, and that many were killed and wounded about him, remounted him, and then he fled. That very day he encamped about five miles from the city. The next day he marched all his army to the fort of Pyrgos, where he had been informed a vast number of peasants had driven their cattle for fear of being plundered. He surprised that undisciplined and unarmed multitude. The plunder made him amends for the loss he sustained at Elis. While he was parting among his soldiers the spoil and prisoners, which amounted to 4000 men, and 20000 cattle, including all kinds, a courier arrived from Macedon with the news, that Eropus, by corrupting the governor of the castle and garison, had taken Lychnidus<sup>b</sup>; that he had got possession of some towns of the Dassaretæ<sup>c</sup>, and excited the Dardans to revolt. Upon this the king quitted the Achæan and Ætolian war, and leaving about 2500 men, horse and foot, for a guard to his allies, under the command of Menippus and Polyphantas, he took his rout from Dymæ, through Achaia, Bœotia and Beboëis<sup>d</sup>, and in ten days arrived at Demetrias in Thessaly.

A N O T H E R courier arrived there with news of a greater insurrection. That the Dardans had entered Macedonia in a great body, seized Orestis<sup>a</sup>, and were upon their march to the plains of Æstræus<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>b</sup> On the west of *Macedon*.

*Elymos*, and *Stymphalia*.

<sup>c</sup> In *Albania*.

<sup>d</sup> In the north of *Albania*, between the rivers *Axius* and *Drillo*. It is now called *Hirga*.

<sup>a</sup> The lake of *De Fenifar* in *Magnesia*.

<sup>b</sup> On the confines of *Atintania*,



CHAP.  
XXXIII.

upon a report of the king's death, which had spread among all the barbarous nations. It is true indeed, in the encounter he had with the ravagers near Sicyon, he was driven under a tree by the high mettle of his horse, and one of the boughs catching hold of the corner of his helmet, broke it off: an Ætolian finding it, carried it to Scherdilætus, who knowing the piece of the helmet, immediately spread the report of his death. After Philip quitted Achaia, Sulpicius sailed to Ægina, and joined Attalus. The Achæans fought successfully against the Ætolians and Eleans near Messena. King Attalus and Sulpicius took up their winter quarters at Ægina. About the end of this campaign, T. Quinctius Crispinus the consul, having nominated L. Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside in the assembly for the election of magistrates, and for the exhibition of the games, died of his wounds. Some say, he died at Tarentum; and others, in Campania. Both the consuls were cut off without any memorable action, which never happened in any former war, and left an orphan commonwealth. Manlius the dictator appointed C. Servilius, then curule ædile, general of horse. The first day the senate sat, they ordered the dictator to celebrate the greater games, which M. Æmilius had exhibited in the consulate of C. Flaminius and Cn. Servilius, and had vowed for every fifth year. The dictator performed them, and vow'd them against the next lustrum. As the consular armies were without generals so near the enemy, the first care of the senators, every thing else being postponed, was to elect consuls as soon as possible, whose prudence as well as valor qualified them to disappoint Hannibal's stratagems. They considered, ' that all the losses which had been  
' sustained during this war, were solely to be im-  
' puted to rash and impetuous generals: particularly  
' this year the consuls, from an eager forwardness of  
' fighting, had fallen unexpectedly into an ambuscade.  
' But the Gods, by their watchful care over the Ro-  
' mans, had spared the armies, and had thought  
' proper to punish only the consuls themselves for  
' their temerity.'


T. Manlius  
Torquatus  
dictator, C.  
Servilius ge-  
neral of  
horse.


THE



THE senators deliberated about proper persons to be elected consuls: Claudius Nero merited that honor preferable to all others. The difficulty was to find him a colleague. He was a general of great abilities, but too enterprizing and impetuous for the present conjuncture and such an enemy as Hannibal. For this reason they thought it necessary to give him a colleague, whose coolness and prudence might be capable to qualify his ardor. M. Livius, immediately after his consulate, had been condemned by the people. He had resented this affront so highly, that he had retired into the country, and never set foot in Rome for many years, refusing to have any commerce with unjust and ungrateful citizens. About eight years after the unjust sentence had been passed against him, the consuls M. Marcellus and M. Valerius had prevailed upon him to return to the city; but he still appeared in a negligent dress, suffering his hair and beard to grow, signifying by his countenance and habit, that he had not forgot the injury and affront he had received. L. Veturius and P. Licinius the censors obliged him afterwards to shave, lay aside his mourning, attend the senate, and undertake public offices. But though he complied with their authority, yet he expressed his assent or dissent to a question by a bare YES or NO, or dividing on the side he approved. He at length threw off so tenacious a silence, to defend one of his relations, M. Livius Macratus, whose conduct at Tarentum was canvassed. This drew upon him the eyes and attention of the whole senate, and every body made their own reflections upon it. It was said, ‘ the people had  
‘ condemned him unjustly; and the being deprived  
‘ during so important a war of the aid and counsels  
‘ of a man capable of being so useful in it, had been  
‘ a considerable loss to the public. We might join  
‘ Q. Fabius or M. Valerius Lævinus in the consulate  
‘ with Nero, but they are both of patrician rank.  
‘ The same reason hinders us from chusing T. Man-  
‘ lius Torquatus; besides, when that office was ten-  
‘ dered



CHAP. <sup>xxxiv.</sup>  dered to him before he would not accept it. But if we join M. Livius with him, we shall make a happy mixture, by tempering Nero's fire with Livius's prudence.' The people entered into this measure proposed by the fathers. Livius alone, whose honor was designed hereby, opposed the unanimous sentiments of the whole city. He reproached them with their fickleness. 'You would not suffer yourselves, said he, to be moved by my mortify'd condition, and now you desire me, against my will, to whiten my robe and stand for the consulate. You load the same man with honors and disgrace. If you think I have merit to deserve this honor, why did you condemn me? If I deserved your condemnation, if you found me really criminal in my former consulate, why would you raise me to a second?' While he thus cast forth his complaints and reproaches, the fathers checked him. 'Set before you, said they, the example of Camillus, who, when condemned to an unjust banishment, returned to rescue our capital from the Gauls: mildness and patience ought to be returned for the ill treatment one receives from his country; as children ought not to withdraw from their duty for the severities of their parents.' At length they prevailed upon him, and obliged him to accept the consulship with Nero.

CHAP. <sup>xxxv.</sup>  THREE days after came on the election of prætors, at which L. Porcius Licinus, C. Mamilius, A. and C. Hostilii Catos were elected. When the comitia were ended, and the games celebrated, the dictator and master of horse demitted their office. Then C. Terentius Varro was sent into Hetruria in quality of pro-prætor, that C. Hostilius might quit that province, and take the command of the army at Tarentum, which had served under T. Quinctius the consul. L. Manlius was sent envoy to Greece, to inspect the affairs of that province; and as the Olympic games were to be celebrated this campaign, at which a great concourse of all the people of Greece were usually assembled, he was directed, if he could pass with



with safety through the quarters of the enemy to re- CHAP.  
 pair thither, and there to declare to the Sicilians, xxxv.  
 whom the war had obliged to quit their country, and  
 to the citizens of Tarentum, whom Hannibal had  
 banished, that the Roman people permitted them to  
 return to their respective countries, and to repossess  
 the estates, which had belonged to them before the  
 war. As the year upon which they were entering  
 threatened the commonwealth with the utmost danger,  
 and as there were no consuls actually in office, all  
 eyes were turned upon those elect, and it was ardently  
 desired, that they might draw lots as soon as possible,  
 in order that each of them might know in good time  
 which was to be his province, and what enemy he  
 should have to deal with. It was also thought ne-  
 cessary to reconcile them to each other before they  
 took the field : This motion was made by old Fabi-  
 us. Their enmity was open ; Livius's disgrace ren-  
 dered him more irreconcilable and implacable, be-  
 cause he conceived his colleague had despised him in  
 his adversity ; wherefore he opposed all instances  
 made to him. ' There is no need, said he, of a  
 ' reconciliation. The greater our enmity is it will  
 ' increase our emulation ; and we shall mutually take  
 ' the greater pains not to be out-done.' However  
 he at length submitted to the authority of the senate,  
 and they mutually promised, that laying aside their  
 misunderstandings, they would jointly consult the good  
 of the commonwealth. Neighboring provinces were  
 not allotted the consuls, as had been done the pre-  
 ceding years, but they were sent to the two extre-  
 mities of Italy. The one had the country of the  
 Bruttii and Lucania, where he was to make head  
 against Hannibal, whilst the other marched to Gaul  
 to meet Asdrubal ; for advice had been brought,  
 that he was upon the point of passing the Alps. The  
 consul that was to have Gaul for his province was to  
 have his choice of the armies that were in Gaul and  
 Hetruria, together with the legions then in garison  
 at Rome. He to whom Bruttium should fall, beside  
 the



the new legions to be levied for Rome, might chuse any of the armies the consuls of the preceding year had under them. Q. Fulvius was to be at the head of that army which the consul should refuse, and his commission as pro-consul was renewed for a year. C. Hostilius, whose province Hetruria they had exchanged for Tarentum, was now sent from Tarentum to Capua with that legion which Fulvius commanded the year before.

CHAP. ASDRUBAL's coming into Italy encreased  
 XXXVI. the disquiet of the Romans. The deputies of the  
 ~~~~~ Massilians had reported that he had gone over into Gaul; and that the inhabitants of that country were mightily encouraged, because it was said he was to employ a considerable sum of money for raising recruits among them. Sex. Antistius and M. Retius went with them from Rome, to enquire into the truth of this news, and reported to the senate, ' that  
 ' they had sent certain persons on purpose, who  
 ' were conducted by the Massilians; that they were  
 ' credibly informed by the princes of Gaul, who  
 ' were their friends, that Asdrubal, having set on  
 ' foot a very great army, was determined to pass  
 ' the Alps next spring, and nothing impeded him  
 ' at present but these mountains being inaccessible  
 ' by reason of snow and cold.' P. Ælius Pætus was chosen augur in place of M. Marcellus; and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella king of the sacrifices in room of M. Marcius, who died two years before. This year the censors Tuditanus and Cethegus closed the lustrum. In this census the number of the citizens amounted to 137108, almost less by one half than they were before the war. It is recorded, that during this year the comitium was first covered with a roof after Hannibal came into Italy; that the Roman games were once renewed by the curule ædiles, Q. Metellus and S. Servilius; and the plebeian were continued for two days by Q. Mamilius and M. Cæcilius Metellus, ædiles of the commons, and that they consecrated three images which they set up in  
 the



the temple of Ceres. The feast of Jupiter was kept with the greatest solemnity, on account of those games. Then C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius for the second time, entered upon their consulship, who, having already drawn lots for their own provinces, ordered the prætors to do the like. C. Hostilius had the jurisdiction over the citizens and foreigners, to the end that three prætors might be sent to the provinces. A. Hostilius had Sardinia, C. Mamilius Sicily, and L. Porcius Gaul. Three and twenty legions were employed and divided in the provinces in this manner: the consuls had two apiece, Spain four: the three prætors for Sicily, Sardinia and Gaul, each had two: C. Terentius had two in Hetruria: Q. Fulvius in the country of the Bruttians other two. Q. Claudius, who had Tarentum and the Salentines under his inspection, was at the head of other two, and C. Hostilius Tibulus one at Capua: last of all two were left for the city. In the four first legions, the people chose all the tribunes; but the consuls nominated the rest.

BEFORE the consuls set out, sacrifices were offered for nine days, because it had rained stones at Veii. Upon the back of one prodigy others were reported to have happened, as is usual in such cases. At Minturnæ, the temple of Jupiter, the grove of Marica, and a wall at Atella, were all struck with lightening. The inhabitants of Minturnæ spoke of a more dreadful prodigy, that a river of blood had run up even to their gate, and a wolf had entered their city at night, and torn to pieces a watchman. These prodigies were expiated by the greater sacrifices, and publick supplications appointed for one day by an order of the college of pontifs. Then the novendalia were renewed again, because it had rained a prodigious quantity of stones in the place where the sacrifices were offered. The superstitious fears occasioned by these reports were scarce dispel'd, when people were terrified with others. They were informed, that at Frusino an infant was born as large as an ordinary

CHAP.  
XXXVI.  
C. Claudius  
Nero,  
M. Livius,  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 545.  
B. J. C. 207.



CHAP. ordinary child of four years of age ; but the bigness  
 xxxvii. of it's size was not so strange as that the sex could not  
 easily be distinguished ; a like birth had happened  
 two years before at Sinuessæ. The haruspices that  
 were sent for from Hetruria said, it was a deformed  
 and ugly monster, and should be carried without the  
 boundaries of Rome, and thrown into the sea, without  
 touching land. So they put it alive into a box, and  
 when they were a good way out in the sea, heaved it  
 over board. The college of pontifs decreed, that  
 three bodies of virgins, nine in each company, should  
 walk in procession through the city, singing hymns.  
 While they were learning, in the temple of Jupiter  
 Stator, hymns composed by Livy the poet, the tem-  
 ple of Queen Juno on mount Aventine was struck  
 with lightening. The soothsayers being consulted,  
 answered, that that prodigy principally concerned the  
 matrons and young ladies of the city, and that that  
 Goddess must be appeased with a present : so by a  
 decree of the curule ædiles all the ladies who had any  
 houses within the city or ten miles round it, were all  
 summoned to present themselves in the capitol, to  
 chuse twenty five of their number into whose hands  
 they should put a small part of their dowry. Of the  
 money contributed on this occasion there was a golden  
 basin made, and carried as a present to Juno on  
 mount Aventine, where the ladies offered up their  
 pure and chaste sacrifices. Immediately the decem-  
 virs appointed a day for another sacrifice to the same  
 Goddess : It was performed in this manner. Two  
 white heifers were led from the temple of Apollo  
 through the gate Carmentalis, into the city : after  
 them were carried two statues of Juno made of cy-  
 press ; then twenty seven young virgins, all dressed  
 in long robes, went in procession, singing in praise  
 of the Goddess verses pretty well calculated to the  
 dull and phlegmatic genius of that age, but what  
 would appear harsh and dissonant to the present : Af-  
 ter the virgins followed the decemvirs, crowned with  
 laurel, dressed in the prætexta, advanced from the  
 fore-



forementioned gate through the Vicus Jugarius, to the forum, and there halted this grand procession. Then the young ladies, taking hold of a cord, began to dance to their vocal music. From thence they went by the Tuscan street and Velabrum, through the ox market, and so forwards into the Clivus Publicius, until they came to the temple of Juno. There the decemvirs offered two sacrifices, and set up the images of cypress in the temple.

AFTER the religious duties were discharged, CHAP. the consuls applied themselves to making the levies XXXVIII. with more exactness and severity than had formerly been used in the memory of any then living. The arrival of a new enemy in Italy had greatly increased their fear, and the considerable diminution of the number of the youth rendered the levies much more difficult. In consequence they obliged the maritime colonies to contribute their contingents of soldiers; though by an oath of the senate and people they were exempted from service. When they refused, a day was appointed when they should produce their charters of exemption before the senate. Upon the day appointed the people of Ostia, Alia, Antium, Anxur, Minturnæ, Sinuessæ, and Sena from the upper sea appeared. When the charters of each of these states were read and exhibited, none of them were sustained, but those of Antium and Ostia, in regard the enemy remained in Italy, and even their young and effective men were obliged to take an oath, that not above thirty of them should sleep without the walls of their colonies, as long as the enemy continued in Italy. Every body was of opinion, that the consuls should take the field immediately; for it was judged necessary, that the one should be in a condition to oppose Asdrubal, as soon as he came down from the Alps, to prevent him from joining the Cisalpine Gauls, and Hetrurians, who only wanted an opportunity to declare war against the Romans; and that the other should find Hannibal so much employment in the country of the Bruttians, where he was,  
as



CHAP. as to prevent his marching to join his brother. How-  
 XXXVIII. ever Livius made some stay, in regard he did not  
 much confide in the armies of his two provinces,  
 and at the same time knew, that his colleague had  
 had his choice of the two excellent consular armies  
 and of a third, which Q. Claudius had commanded at  
 Tarentum. He made a motion for arming the  
 volones again. The senate gave full power to the  
 consuls, to chuse out of the armies such troops as  
 they thought fit; to make such exchanges as they  
 should judge necessary, and remove such officers and  
 soldiers from one province to another, as they should  
 deem most proper to do the commonwealth service.  
 The consuls acted in every respect with great unani-  
 mity and harmony. The volones were lifted in the  
 nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some authors ob-  
 serve, that Scipio sent very considerable aids from  
 Spain to Livius, viz. 8000 Spaniards and Gauls,  
 2000 Romans detached from his legions, and about  
 1800 horse, half Spaniards, half Numidians; and  
 that M. Lucretius was appointed to carry this rein-  
 forcement to Italy by sea; and also that C. Mamilius  
 sent him about 4000 slingers and archers from Sicily.

CHAP. THE prætor Porcius's letters from Gaul much  
 XXXIX. increased the consternation at Rome. Their contents  
 were, ' that Asdrubal had quitted his winter quarters,  
 ' and was actually passing the Alps; the Ligurians  
 ' had formed a body of 8000 men, who would not  
 ' fail to join his army as soon as it should arrive in  
 ' Italy, unless troops were sent to keep them employed  
 ' in their own country: As for him, he would ad-  
 ' vance as far as possible, without exposing so weak  
 ' an army as his.' These letters obliged the consuls  
 to hasten their levies, and repair to their provinces  
 sooner than they intended, in order that each of them  
 might keep his enemy in his province, and hinder  
 the two brothers from joining. What contributed  
 most to the success of this design, was the opinion of  
 Hannibal himself. For though he was in hopes that  
 his brother would arrive this campaign in Italy, yet  
 when



when he reflected upon what he suffered in his passing the Rhone, as well as the Alps, and spent five months in conquering the difficulties of the roads, as well as the nations that opposed him, he did not imagine he would pass so soon and so easily as he did. These thoughts kept him the longer in his winter quarters. But Asdrubal found much fewer difficulties and obstacles, in passing those mountains, than both he and others apprehended. For not only the people of Clarmont, and soon after all the states of Gaul and of the Alps, received him, but also followed him to the war. Besides his brother having levelled the ways, which before were impracticable, the inhabitants of the country themselves, by being accustomed to bodies of men passing through the midst of them during twelve years, were become more tractable and less savage. For before that time, having never seen any foreigners upon their mountains, and not quitting them themselves to visit other countries, they were strangers to all kinds of social commerce. Besides, not knowing Hannibal's design, they had imagined at first that it was against their forts and precipices, and that he was come to drive off their cattle, and make slaves of their persons. But during the twelve years that Italy had been the theatre of war, they had time to discern clearly, that the Alps were only a pass to two powerful nations, separated by an immense tract of sea and land, who were disputing empire and glory with each other. This facilitated Asdrubal's passage over these mountains. But his laying down before Placentia, where he was long detained by an unsuccessful siege, made him lose all the advantage, might have derived from his expedition. He believed he should easily make himself master of a city situated in a plain, and that by the ruin of so illustrious a colony, he should spread terror through all the rest. But this siege not only retarded him, but kept back Hannibal, who, upon the news of his brother's unexpected arrival, was moving out of his winter quarters: For he considered that sieges



were generally tedious, and in particular remembered the little success of his attempts upon the same Placentia after his victory at Trebia.

## CHAP.

XL.

THE Romans when they saw their consuls take different routs at their departure, as if it had been to two distinct wars, were distracted with a multiplicity of cares. They remembered the havoc which Hannibal alone had occasioned on his arrival in Italy. At the same time could they hope, the Gods would be so propitious to their city and empire as to grant them victory over two enemies in two different corners of Italy at once? Hitherto their losses and advantages had reciprocally balanced each other, and lengthened out their fate. When their commonwealth was crushed by the defeats at Thrasymen and Cannæ, it's affairs had been in a manner reinstated by the good success of her arms in Spain. After that, the loss of the two Scipios, defeated and killed immediately after each other, and their armies almost cut off in the same country, had been followed very close by several advantages gained in Sicily and Italy, which revived their drooping state: besides the distance of Spain, and the seat of the war being almost in the extremities of the world, had given them time to breathe. But now they had actually two wars to sustain at the same time in the very heart of Italy; two formidable armies, commanded by the two most illustrious generals of the Carthaginians, distressed their very capital on both sides, and the weight of the danger, which was separate before, fell now entirely upon one and the same place. Of the two brothers, he who should first be victorious would join the other immediately. The very recent deaths of the two last consuls still augmented their consternation, and presented to their minds only sad presages for the time to come. Such were the anxious reflections made by the Romans in accompanying the consuls, according to custom, at their departure. It is recorded in history, that when Livius, who had not yet dropt his resentment against the



the Romans, set out, and Fabius advised him, to hazard nothing till he knew the genius and force of the enemy he was to encounter ; he answered, ‘ I shall give battle the moment I see the enemy.’ Upon being asked the reason for such great precipitation, ‘ I shall either, says he, have the glory of overcoming the enemy, or the pleasure of seeing my fellow citizens vanquished : Such sentiments indeed are little to my honor, but their injustice merits it at my hands.’ Before Nero arrived in his province, C. Hostilius Tubulus, at the head of some light-armed cohorts, attacking Hannibal, on his march by the confines of Larinum<sup>a</sup>, towards the country of the Salentines, put his disordered army into the utmost consternation, killed almost 4000 of them, and took nine standards. Q. Claudius, who had garisons canton’d in all the cities of the Salentines, receiving advice of the enemy’s approach quitted his winter quarters. Hannibal, lest he should have two armies at once upon his hands, decamped in the night from the country of Tarentum, and marched into Bruttium. Claudius led back his army into the country of the Salentines. Hostilius, on his way to Capua, met the consul Nero near Venusia. There that general, out of the best troops of the two armies, formed a body of 40000 foot and 2500 horse to act against Hannibal. Hostilius had orders to march the remainder of the army to Capua, and deliver the command of them to Q. Fulvius, the pro-consul.

HANNIBAL, having drawn his troops out of their winter quarters and his garisons in Bruttium, marched to Grumentum in Lucania in hopes of retaking the cities of that country, which fear had obliged to return to the Romans. The consul also marched out of Venusia thither, having caused all the places through which he passed to be carefully reconnoitred, and encamped 1500 paces from the enemy. The Carthaginians had fortified themselves almost close to the walls of Grumentum. The Roman

<sup>a</sup> In *Apulia*.



CHAP. and Carthaginian camps were about 500 paces distant,  
 XLI. and between them a plain, commanded by hills,  
 which the Romans had on their right and the enemy  
 on their left; but not suspected by either side, because  
 they had neither wood nor hollow upon them, wherein  
 to lay ambuscade. Some slight skirmishes passed be-  
 tween the advanced guards in the midst of the plain.  
 Nero had no other view than to prevent the Cartha-  
 ginian from getting away: Hannibal on the contrary,  
 being desirous to open himself a free passage, used  
 all possible endeavors to bring Nero to a general bat-  
 tle. The consul at that time turned the Carthaginian's  
 artifices against himself: This he did with greater  
 ease, as there was no room to suspect stratagem in  
 so naked a ground. He detached five cohorts and  
 five companies, with orders to go up the hill during  
 the night, and conceal themselves in the valley behind  
 it. He fixed a time with the two officers, who com-  
 manded the detachment, when they should quit their  
 ambuscade, and attack the enemy. He himself at  
 sun-rise drew up all his troops, both horse and foot,  
 in order of battle. Soon after, Hannibal also gave  
 his signal to battle, and his troops immediately flew  
 to their arms, and hastily quitted their lines and dis-  
 persed over the plain, to charge the enemy. Nero  
 seeing them advance with precipitation, ordered C.  
 Arunculeius, tribune of the third legion, to charge  
 the enemy with the cavalry belonging to it, with as  
 much impetuosity as possible: for as they were dis-  
 persed over the plain, in as great disorder as a herd  
 of cattle, it would be easy to break and defeat them,  
 before they could draw up in order.

CHAP. HANNIBAL had not quitted his camp, when  
 XLII. he heard the shouts of the soldiers engaged. This  
 roused him, and he immediately advanced with all  
 his troops. The Roman horse had already spread  
 terror through the Carthaginian front. The first le-  
 gion also, and the cavalry of the right wing, came  
 on to the charge. The Carthaginians in disorder  
 came to blows with the Roman horse and foot, as  
 chance



chance brought them in their way. The reinforcements sent continually to the support of both sides, insensibly augmented the engagement. Notwithstanding the confusion and terror of the Carthaginians, Hannibal (which none but an old and experienced captain, and a veteran army could have done) would have formed his troops, if the shouts of the Roman cohorts and companies, who came down like a torrent from the hill on his rear, had not made him apprehend they would cut off his communication with his camp. This struck his army into a panic, and made them fly with precipitation. The slaughter was the less, because the nearness of their camp afforded them an immediate refuge from the Roman cavalry, who pursued them closely, whilst the troops that came down from the hills of an easy descent charged them in flank. However, they killed about 8000, and took 700 prisoners, with 9 ensigns. Though the elephants had not been engaged, as the battle was sudden and tumultuous, yet four of them were killed, and two taken. The victors lost only 500 Romans and allies. Next day Hannibal kept in his camp. Nero drew up his army in order of battle: but seeing no enemy appear, he ordered them to gather the spoils of the enemy, and to lay the bodies of their fellow soldiers in an heap, in order to their interment. Several days successively the consul advanced to the gates of the Carthaginian camp with so much boldness, that he seemed to intend to attack it, till at length Hannibal having caused abundance of fires to be kindled, and several tents to be pitched in the part of his camp next the enemy, retired about midnight, leaving a small number of Numidians, with orders to shew themselves at the gates, and upon the entrenchments, whilst he with the rest of the army marched towards Apulia. The next morning the Roman army as usual advanced in order of battle. The Numidians having appeared for some time upon the works as they had been ordered, amused the Romans for some time, and then set out full speed



CHAP.

XLII.

to rejoin the gross of their army. The consul, perceiving a great silence in the camp of the Carthaginians, and that even those he had seen in the morning going to and fro at the gates, had also disappeared, sent in two of the horse, who having carefully examined all parts of it, and brought back advice that the enemy was gone, he entered it with colors flying. He gave his troops time only to run over and plunder it, and made them return to his own camp before night. Next day, early in the morning, he set out, and following the rout of the enemy by forced marches, he came up with them near Venusia. Here he attacked them at random, and killed 2000 of the Carthaginians. Hannibal decamped from thence, and marching during the night only upon eminences, to avoid coming to blows with the enemy, got to Metapontum. He immediately made Hanno, who commanded in that country set out with a small detachment to make new levies among the Bruttians. There having joined Hanno's army to his own, he returned the same way he came to Venusia, and from thence advanced as far as Canusia. Nero had continued to pursue him, and when he marched towards Metapontum, had made Q. Fulvius enter Lucania, not to leave that country without defence.

CHAP.

XLIII.

ASDRUBAL, after having been obliged to raise the siege of Placentia, had dispatched four Gaulish and two Numidian horse, with letters to Hannibal. Those soldiers, after having successfully passed through the whole length of Italy, though always in the midst of enemies, in endeavoring to join Hannibal as he was retreating towards Metapontum, lost their way, and went towards Tarentum, where wandering up and down, they were taken by some Roman foragers, and brought to the prætor Q. Claudius. They first endeavored to elude his questions by evasive answers; but the fear of the rack having soon forced them to speak the truth, they confessed they were carrying letters from Asdrubal to his brother Hannibal. Claudius immediately sent them



them with the packet, sealed as it was, by L. Virginius, a legionary tribune, to the consul Nero. Two troops were also sent to guard Samnium. When they were come before the consul, the letters were broke open, and read by an interpreter, and the prisoners examined. This convinced the consul that it was not for the interest of the state the consuls should prosecute the war, by each keeping within the bounds of his own province, in order to oppose the enemy prescribed him by the senate; but that it was necessary to form some great, bold, new, and unforeseen design; which would no less surprize the Romans than the Carthaginians, and change the alarms of the first into a joy as great as unexpected. Having dispatched a courier with Asdrubal's letters to Rome, he also took that opportunity to inform the senators what course to take; for since Asdrubal wrote to his brother, that he intended to join him with his army in Umbria, it was proper they should send for the legion that was at Capua to Rome, raise new levies there, and march the city army to Narnia to oppose the enemy. This was the substance of his letter to the senate. At the same time he dispatched some horse to the Larinates, Marrucini, Frentani and Præ-tutiani through whose country his army was to pass, with orders in his name, to the inhabitants of the towns and countries, to prepare provisions for the subsistence of his troops, with horses and carriages for the soldiers, who should be fatigued and unable to march. As for himself he chose 6000 foot and 1000 horse, the flower of the Romans and allies in his army, and told them, he intended to attack a city of Lucania in the neighborhood of his camp, and surprize the Carthaginian garison in it, and ordered them to be ready to march on the first notice. He set out in the night, and took long marches towards Picenum, having left Q. Cadius, one of his lieutenants, to command in his absence.

THE news of the consul's departure occasioned no less consternation at Rome, than it had been in



CHAP. two years before, when Hannibal encamped before  
 XLIV. the gates of the city. They did not know whether  
 to praise or blame so bold an undertaking. They  
 thought it was only to be judged of by the event,  
 which is an evident injustice, but usual among men.  
 ‘ He has left, said they, his camp without a general,  
 ‘ and drained it of the flower of the troops, close to  
 ‘ that of Hannibal. He had given out, he was go-  
 ‘ ing into Lucania, when he was going to Picenum  
 ‘ and Gaul. Nothing could save his camp, but the  
 ‘ enemy’s not knowing, that he was gone with part  
 ‘ of the troops. What would happen, if Hannibal  
 ‘ should be apprized of this, and either resolve to  
 ‘ pursue his 6000 men with his whole army, or at-  
 ‘ tack his camp, left as a prey, and without it’s  
 ‘ strength, without a head, without the happy au-  
 ‘ spices of it’s general. They called to mind the  
 ‘ former defeats during that war, and the death of  
 ‘ the two preceding consuls, all which had happened  
 ‘ at a time when they had only one general and one  
 ‘ army to oppose ; whereas now they had two Pu-  
 ‘ nic wars upon their hands, two great armies, and  
 ‘ in a manner two Hannibals in Italy ; for Asdru-  
 ‘ bal was the son of the same father Hamilcar, as  
 ‘ enterprizing a general as his brother, had been  
 ‘ trained up for many years in the wars in Spain,  
 ‘ obtained two glorious victories, and cut off two  
 ‘ illustrious generals with their armies. He had  
 ‘ greater reason of boasting than Hannibal, on ac-  
 ‘ count of his diligence in quitting Spain, and mak-  
 ‘ ing the Gauls take arms : For he had set an army  
 ‘ on foot in that very place where his brother had  
 ‘ lost a great part of his men by hunger and cold,  
 ‘ which are the most miserable of all deaths.’ Be-  
 sides those who were well acquainted with the affairs  
 of Spain said, ‘ he was to engage a general he was  
 ‘ well acquainted with ; for, when once before he  
 ‘ found himself shut up in a defile, he had befooled  
 ‘ Nero, as if he had been a child, by drawing up  
 ‘ articles of capitulation he never intended to observe.’  
 They



They exaggerated every thing; and being under the impressions of fear, which places things in the worst light, they concluded the forces of the enemy were superior to their own.

WHEN Nero was so far from the enemy, that it was safe to divulge his secret to his troops, he thus addressed them. CHAP. XLV.

‘ No enterprize is more dangerous  
‘ in appearance, nor more safe in reality, than that  
‘ I am going upon. I am leading you to certain  
‘ victory. My colleague would not take the field  
‘ till he had the full complement of horse and foot  
‘ decreed to him by the senate, and those more numerous and better disciplined, than if he had been  
‘ to make head against Hannibal himself; and therefore whatever reinforcements you bring will cast the  
‘ balance in our favor. Even the surprize only,  
‘ which the unexpected news of the arrival of a second consul with an army in the moment of battle  
‘ (for it can’t be heard sooner) will suffice to secure  
‘ you the victory. In war much depends upon report, and the slightest circumstances often determine the resolution and cowardice of an army. You  
‘ will have the whole glory of the success. Those  
‘ who come last, commonly have the whole merit of the action. You yourselves saw with what ardor,  
‘ with how many good wishes, the several states  
‘ through which we passed came out to meet us.’

And, in truth, all the ways through which they passed were lined with men and women, who crowded from all adjacent countries, mingling vows, and prayers with praises, calling them, ‘ the protectors  
‘ of the commonwealth, the support of Rome, and  
‘ the Roman empire, on the success of whose arms  
‘ the lives and liberties of them and their children  
‘ depended.’ They earnestly prayed all the Gods and Goddesses to grant them a prosperous journey, a successful battle, a complete and speedy victory over their enemies. At the same time earnestly desiring that they might be obliged to perform the vows they had made on their account, and that now, as while  
they



CHAP. XLV. they accompanied them, they were in the utmost concern for the dangers they were to be exposed to, so they might in a few days have the pleasure of meeting them with the joyful acclamations of victory. Each invited, offered, nay importuned the troops to use their carriages in preference to those of others, and generously furnished them with all kinds of provisions. On the other hand the soldiers endeavored to overcome their generosity by modestly refusing every thing but what was necessary. They did not so much as lay down their arms to refresh themselves, never halted, but marched day and night, without allowing themselves natural rest. Nero had sent couriers to inform Livius of his approach, and to ask him whether he thought it proper for him to join him in the day, or in the night, and if they should encamp together, or separately. His colleague thought it most proper he should join him in the night.

CHAP. XLVI. LIVIUS the consul gave private orders through his camp, that each tribune should lodge a tribune in his tent, each centurion a centurion, and each horseman one of the same kind, and so with the foot. He did not think it necessary to enlarge the camp, lest the enemy should be apprized of the other consul's arrival; besides, they were the easier accommodated, as Claudius's army had brought nothing on this expedition but their arms. Upon their rout, the army was considerably augmented by volunteers, who willingly offered themselves, and veterans, who had served the legal number of campaigns; moreover, as many young men were keen to have themselves listed, Claudius had accepted such as he thought handsome and robust enough for service. Livius was encamped near Sena<sup>a</sup>, about half a mile from Asdrubal. When Claudius drew near, he halted for some time in the hills, not being willing to enter the camp till night. Then they entered the camp without the least noise, and were lodged according to their respective stations, and entertained with the utmost joy

<sup>a</sup> *Sinigaglia*, in the duchy of Urbino.



and pleasure. The next day a council of war was held, at which the prætor, M. Porcius Licinus was present. He was encamped in the neighborhood of the consuls, and even before their arrival, marched along the eminences, and seized the defiles to dispute their passage. Sometimes he attacked them in flank or rear, and eluded the enemy by all possible artifices. He was present at the council. The greatest number were of opinion, that the battle should be deferred for some days, to give Nero and his soldiers some time to rest after their fatigue, and to acquire some knowledge of the enemy. But Nero not only advised but conjured them ‘ not to render rash, by delay, ‘ an enterprize which expedition had made safe. ‘ Hannibal, lulled by a kind of charm, which could ‘ not continue long, had neither followed him, nor ‘ attacked his camp ; and if they acted with vigor ‘ Asdrubal might be defeated, and himself returned ‘ to his camp, before Hannibal made any motion. ‘ To give the enemy time, was to abandon his camp ‘ to Hannibal, and to open a way into Gaul, where ‘ he might join his brother with ease. It was necessary to give the signal immediately, and to take advantage of the error both of the absent and present enemy, who were equally ignorant of the numbers and strength of those they had to deal with ; the former believing them greater and the latter less than really they were.’ The council having broke up, the signal for battle was given, and the armies immediately quitted the lines in order of battle.

CHAP.


XLVI.

THE enemy were ready formed before their entrenchments. However the engagement did not begin, because Asdrubal, riding with some horsemen before the ensigns, had observed some old shields among the enemy, which he had not seen before, and some horses more fatigued and lean than the rest ; besides the number of the enemy seemed greater than ordinary. Suspecting what was really true, he immediately ordered to sound a retreat and to retire to the river where they watered : Here they might intercept some

CHAP.

XLVII.



CHAP. XLVII.  some of the enemy, or observe by the eye, whether any of them were sun-burnt or scorched with the excessive heat on their march. He ordered some horse to ride round the Roman camp at a distance, and view narrowly if their lines were extended, and whether one or two signals were given in it. When the scouts related every thing they saw, the camp being nowise extended deceived him. There were only two as before the consul arrived, that of Livius and Porcius, without the least addition to their ramparts. However this experienced captain, long accustomed to fight with the Romans, was much perplexed, when he was informed, that the signal had been given once in the camp of Porcius, and twice in that of the consul: It was evident there were two consuls, but he was extremely anxious to know how one of them had eluded the vigilance of his brother. However he could not conceive, what was fact, how so great a captain as Hannibal could be amused to such a degree, as not to know where the general and the army he had to deal with were. He concluded that his brother must certainly have received some considerable blow, which hindered him from following the consul, and was afraid that he had come too late to his aid; and that the Romans had been as successful in Italy as in Spain. Sometimes he thought his letters had been intercepted, which hastened the consul to attack him. In this sad perplexity he caused all the fires in his camp to be put out, and having given the signal at the first watch, to get their baggage ready as secretly as possible, ordered his troops to decamp. In the disorder of a precipitate march, and that in the night, their guides not being narrowly watched, one of them hid himself in a cave he had purposely marked out, and the other crossed the Metaurus, being acquainted with the fords. The army thus deprived of it's guides, not knowing the country, wandered at first at a venture through the fields, and soon after most of the soldiers, overwhelmed with sleep and fatigue, abandoned their colors, and laid themselves



themselves down on the way. Asdrubal ordered them to march along the bank of the river till it was light, and making but little progress by reason of its windings and turnings, was resolved to pass it as soon as day appeared. But the farther he marched from the sea, the river was still hemmed in with higher banks, so that he could find no ford: thus he gave the enemy time to come up with him.

N E R O first appeared at the head of the cavalry, and then Porcius with the light-armed troops. Having attacked the enemy, who were fatigued, the Carthaginian quitted his march, which seemed rather to be flight, and would have entrenched himself upon an eminence nigh the river. Then Livius arrived with all his army, not only provided for a march, but in readiness to give the enemy battle. When they were all joined and formed, Claudius posted himself on the right wing, Livius on the left, and the prætor in the center. This obliged Asdrubal to suspend his entrenchments, as he saw it was impossible to avoid a battle. He posted his elephants in the front before the ensigns; on the left he posted the Gauls to oppose Claudius, though he did not so much confide in them, as he thought they were dreaded by the enemy. He took the command of the right wing himself, with the Spanish veterans, in whom he reposed most confidence; and lastly, he posted the Ligurians in the center, immediately behind the elephants. His army was marshalled with more depth than length. An eminence covered the Gauls. That wing where the Spaniards were charged the Romans left; the right stood unactive at a distance; for the opposite eminence hindered them from attacking the enemy either in front or flank. The action was very warm between Livius and Asdrubal, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides: there were the two generals in person; there were the greatest part of the Roman horse and foot; there were the veteran Spaniards accustomed to the Roman way of fighting, and the Ligurians, men of un-

CHAP.  
XLVIII.

doubted



**CHAP.** doubted courage, and indefatigable in war : nay there  
**XLVIII.** were the elephants that at first put the front lines of  
 the Romans into some disorder, and made them give ground ; but afterwards the shouts on both sides increasing, and the battle becoming hotter, terrified them to such a degree, that it was no longer possible to govern them, and they traversed the space between the two armies, so as it was hard to distinguish to whom they belonged, and were like ships without pilots. Nero having made ineffectual endeavors to ascend the hill which he had in front, and finding it impossible to come at the enemy on that side, immediately called to his soldiers, ‘ For what did you come so far, and with so much expedition ? ’ Upon this he immediately set out, with some cohorts, which he had drawn from the right, where he perceived there would be no action ; and moving behind the rear of the army, charged the enemy’s left wing in flank, which was an unexpected stroke both to them and his own right : Nay, such was his expedition, that he had scarce appeared on their flank, when he took them also in the rear. Thus Spaniards and Ligurians were cut to pieces in front, flank, and rear, and the slaughter soon extended to the Gauls, who still made less resistance. For a great part of them had abandoned their colors during the night, and lay down to sleep in the fields. Such as remained, fatigued with the march and watching, could scarcely support the weight of their bodies and arms. Besides, as it was about noon, they panted with heat and thirst, and suffered themselves to be either killed or taken.

**CHAP.** **MORE** of the elephants were killed by their own  
**XLIX.** guards than by the enemy ; each of them was provided with a sharp pointed chizel and a mallet ; and when they saw those animals rush furiously on their own men, they drove the chizel with the mallet between their ears, in the place where the neck is joined to the head. This was found to be the most certain way of killing those huge animals, when they turned ungovernable, and was an invention of Asdrubal:

That



That general this day added the highest glory to all the former memorable actions of his life. He animated his troops by his example, he employed prayers and threats to rouse their spirits, that drooped through weariness and fatigue. But finding at length that victory declared for the Romans, and not being able to survive so many thousand men who had quitted their country to follow him, he put spurs to his horse, threw himself into the midst of a Roman cohort, where he fell in a manner becoming the son of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal. This battle was the bloodiest that was fought during this war, and both by the general's death, and the slaughter of the Carthaginians, was a kind of reprizal for the defeat of Cannæ. 50000 of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and 5500 taken prisoners. The victors got a considerable booty of all kinds, as also a great quantity of silver and gold. Above 4000 citizens, who were prisoners to the Carthaginians, were retaken; which was a consolation for the loss of those who had been killed in the battle. This victory cost the Romans dear: for they purchased it with the lives of about 8000 of their troops, including the Latins. Those that survived were so cloy'd with blood and slaughter, that the next day, when Livius was told that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had not as yet engaged, or made their escape during the slaughter, were retreating in a body, without either leader or ensigns, and without order or discipline; that by sending one troop of horse after them they could be all easily cut to pieces; he said, 'Suffer some to escape to tell of the defeat of the enemy and our valor.'

THE night after the battle Nero set out with his army, and returning with more expedition than he came, after six days march, re-entered the camp he had left near Hannibal's. He did not find such vast crowds of people upon his rout, because he had sent no couriers before him. But people were so much transported with joy, that it deprived them of their reason.



CHAP.

L.

reason. One cannot express sufficiently the different and various passions that agitated the Roman citizens while they were impatient to know the event of the expedition, and when they received the certain news of the victory. They were no sooner informed of the departure of Nero, than the senators met every day early in the morning with the magistrates and the people assembled in the forum. The ladies, because they could help no other way, expressed their zeal for the good of their country, by crowding all the temples, and continually offering prayers and vows to their Gods. While the city was thus distracted between hope and fear, the first news they received was very uncertain: two Narnian horsemen who had been in the battle, arrived in the camp which had been pitched at the streights of Umbria, and had brought advice of the defeat of the enemy. They first seemed rather to give a general assent, than firmly believe such news, being a matter of such importance, that it was not to be credited upon uncertain grounds: The very expedition of the troopers hindered their news from being believed, for they brought them two days after the battle. Soon after a letter arrived from L. Manlius Acidinus in the camp in Umbria, which confirmed the arrival of the two horsemen, and their report. This letter was carried cross the forum to the prætor's tribunal, whereupon the senators were sent for out of the senate-house, the people ran in such multitudes, and with so much ardor and keenness to the gates of the senate, that the courier could hardly enter it, every one stopping him to ask him questions, and demanding with great cries, that the letter should be read in the rostra before it was carried to the senate. The mob at length with difficulty was restrained and dispersed by the magistrates, who now had an opportunity deliberately to inform these giddy people of the agreeable news. The letter was first read in the senate, and then in the assembly of the people. It was very differently received; for some gave themselves up to  
excessive



excessive joy, others refused to give credit to it, till the consuls couriers should arrive, and their letters be read.

A T length news came, that those couriers were upon the point of arriving. Upon which all the citizens, old and young, ran with equal ardor to meet them, every one ardently desiring to be the first in knowing such transporting news, and to be assured of it by the evidence of his own eyes and ears. They filled the ways as far as the Milvian bridge. The deputies were L. Veturius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus. They proceeded to the forum, surrounded with an infinite multitude of all ranks, who addressed themselves either to them or their retinue, to know what had passed: and as any one was informed, ‘ that the general of the enemy ‘ was killed and his whole army cut to pieces; that ‘ the consuls were alive, and their legions had sustain- ‘ ed no considerable loss,’ they immediately ran to impart the agreeable news to others. The deputies with great difficulty got to the senate, and it was still with greater that the people were prevented from entering along with them, and mingling with the senators. The letters being read there, the deputies were brought to the forum, where they read the letters a second time. L. Veturius, one of them, afterwards gave a particular relation of what had passed, which was received with great applause, and followed with acclamations of the whole people, who were transported beyond measure. The citizens quitted the forum; some to thank the Gods in the temples for so great a blessing, and others to go home to inform their wives and children of so extraordinary and unexpected a success. The senate decreed public thanksgivings for three days, because the two consuls and armies had been preserved in the battle, Asdrubal killed, and his army defeated. The prætor C. Hostilius proclaimed these supplications in the assembly of the people, at which there were present great multitudes of both sexes. All the temples were equally

CHAP.  
LI.



CHAP. crowded for three days: the ladies, dressed in their  
LI. richest robes, together with their children, rendered  
thanks to the immortal Gods, as if the war had been  
finally terminated, and all their fears dispelled. This  
victory occasioned a salutary revolution in the com-  
monwealth, and then the citizens began again to  
make contracts, to buy, sell, borrow, and pay, as  
is customary in times of profound peace. Whilst all  
this passed, the consul Nero arrived in his camp,  
and ordered Asdrubal's head, which had been pre-  
served with much care, and brought with him, to be  
cast before Hannibal's advanced guards, and the  
African prisoners to be presented to them in chains.  
He ordered two of the latter, who were set at liberty  
and sent to the camp, to give him a particular account  
of what had passed in the battle. Hannibal terrified  
with the news, equally fatal to his country and fami-  
ly, acknowledged 'the fate of Carthage.' He de-  
camped that moment, and retired to the extremity of  
Bruttium, where he drew together all the troops he  
had, being no longer in a condition to keep them  
separate as before; he ordered also all the people of  
Metapontum to quit their city, and all the Lucanians  
who were in his interest to abandon their country,  
and join him in Bruttium.





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A

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE

## FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

# ROMAN HISTORY,

BY

## TITUS LIVIUS of PADUA

| Year<br>of R. | Bef.<br>J. C. | Consuls.                                                                                                                                                                  | Con-<br>sulat. | Pag. | Year<br>of R. | Bef.<br>J. C. | Consuls.                                               | Con-<br>sulat. | Pag. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------|
| 534           | 218           | P. Corn. Scipio,<br>Ti. Semp. Longus.                                                                                                                                     | 233            | 8    | 539           | 213           | Q. Fab. Maximus,<br>T. Semp. Gracchus.                 | 238            | 282  |
| 535           | 217           | Cn. Servilius,<br>C. Flaminius.                                                                                                                                           | 234            | 69   | 540           | 212           | Q. Fulv. Flaccus,<br>Ap. Claud. Pulcher,               | 239            | 294  |
| 536           | 216           | C. Ter. Varro,<br>L. Æmil. Paullus.                                                                                                                                       | 235            | 124  | 541           | 211           | Cn. Fulv. Centu-<br>malus,<br>P. Sulp. Galba.          | 240            | 358  |
| 537           | 215           | L. Posthumius,<br>T. S. Gracchus.<br>The former killed,<br>and succeeded by<br>M. Marcellus,<br>who abdicates,<br>and the fasces are<br>transfer'd to Q.<br>Fab. Maximus. | 236            | 190  | 542           | 210           | M. Claud. Marcel-<br>lus,<br>M. Valerius.              | 241            | 391  |
| 538           | 214           | Q. Fab. Maximus,<br>M. Claud. Marcel-<br>lus.                                                                                                                             | 237            | 237  | 543           | 209           | Q. Fab. Maximus,<br>Q. Fulv. Flaccus.                  | 242            | 445  |
|               |               |                                                                                                                                                                           |                |      | 544           | 208           | M. Claud. Marcel-<br>lus,<br>T. Quint. Crispi-<br>nus. | 243            | 472  |
|               |               |                                                                                                                                                                           |                |      | 544           | 207           | C. Claud. Nero,<br>M. Livius.                          | 244            | 493  |



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# I N D E X

## TO VOL. IV.

N.B. *The figures denote the number of the pages,  
and the letters of the notes, referred to.*

### A.

*ABOLEX*, how delivers the Spanish hostages at Saguntum to the Romans, 108, & seq. see *Bostar*.

*Acarnanians*, several towns taken from them, 394. strange resolution of their's, 395.

*Accua*, taken by storm, 250. it's situation and modern name, *ibid.* *b*.

*Acerræ*, demolished by the Carthaginians, 181. restored to it's inhabitants, 438.

*Achaia*, several people originally of it, 315.

*Achaëus*, implore assistance from Philip, against Machanidas and the Ætolians, 483. join him at Dymæ, 486.

*Abradina*, part of Syracuse, described, 252. *a*. besieged

by Marcellus, 331. betrayed to the Romans, 339.

*Acidinus*, L. Manlius, chosen prætor, 392.

*Acilius*, Q. whether taken prisoner, 30.

*Acraë*, it's situation and modern name, 272. *a*.

*Acrillæ*, it's situation, *ibid.* *c*.

*Adrians*, for what commended by the Romans, 451.

*Æcæ*, besieged, 250. see *g*. *ibid.*

*Ædiles*, why reprimanded by the senate, 292.

*Ægates*, islands, 13. *a*.

*Æginum*, where, 484. see *e*. *ibid.*

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